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DIVINE LEGATION

OF

M O S E S

DEMONSTRATED.

VOL. III.

L O N D O N,

Vol. III.

A. MILLAR, and J. and P. KNOX,
No. 5, St. Paul's Church-Yard, MDCCCLXX.

THE
DIVINE LEGATION
OF
MOSSES
DEMONSTRATED.

Vol. III.

THE
DIVINE LEGATION
OF
MOSES
DEMONSTRATED.
IN NINE BOOKS.

The FOURTH EDITION, Corrected and Enlarged.

BY
WILLIAM, Lord Bishop of GLOUCESTER.

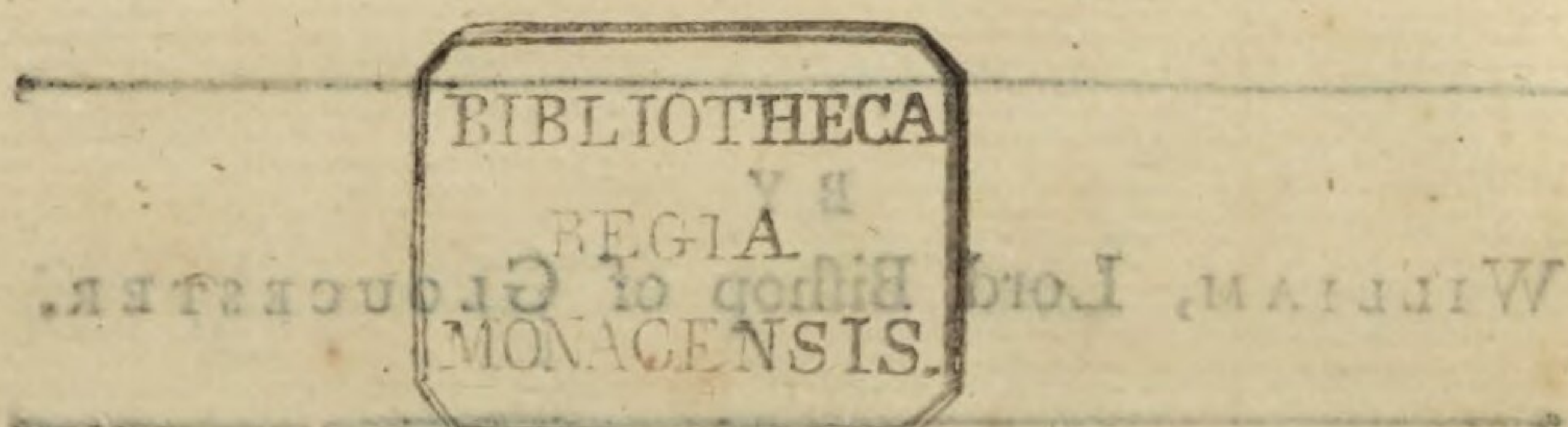
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ΚΑΤΑΝΟΗΣΩ ΤΑ ΘΑΥΜΑΣΙΑ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΝΟΜΟΥ ΣΟΥ.
PSAL.

VOL. III.

L O N D O N,
Printed for A. MILLAR, and J. and R. TONSON,
in the Strand. MDCCLXV,

THE
DIVINE LEGATION
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ALGER
WILLIAM, Lord Bishop of Gloucester.

VOL. III.

L O N D O N
Printed by A. MILLAR, and J. and R. TONSON,
in the Strand. MDCCLXXV.



J. Mynde sc.

TO
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
WILLIAM,
LORD MANSFIELD,
LORD CHIEF JUSTICE
OF
ENGLAND.

MY LORD,

THE purpose of this address is
not to make a return for the
favours I have received from you, for

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A

they

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they are many and great; but to add one more security to myself, from the malice of the present and the forgetfulness of future times. A purpose, which tho' it may be thought less sober than the other, is certainly not more selfish. In plain terms, I would willingly contrive to live, and go down to posterity under the protection of your Name and Character: from which, that Posterity, in the administration of public justice, must receive their instruction; and in the duties of private life, if they have any virtuous ambition, will take their example.---But let not this alarm you. I intend not to be your Panegyrist. To praise you for Eloquence, would be to praise you for a thing below your Character, unless it were for that species of Eloquence which MILTON describes, and You have long practised. “ TRUE
“ ELOQUENCE, says he, I find to be
“ none, but the serious and hearty
“ love of Truth: And that, whose
“ mind soever is fully possessed with a
“ fervent

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“ fervent desire to know good things,
“ and with the dearest Charity to in-
“ fuse the knowlege of them into
“ Others, WHEN SUCH A MAN WOULD
“ SPEAK, his words, like so many nim-
“ ble and airy Servitors trip about him
“ at command, and in well ordered
“ Files, as he would wish, fall aptly
“ into their own places.”

To live in the voice and memory of Men is the flattering dream of every adventurer in Letters: and for me who boast the rare felicity of being honoured with the friendship of two or three superior Characters, Men endowed with virtue to atone for a bad age, and of abilities to make a bad age a good one, for me not to aspire to the best mode of this ideal existence, the being carried down to remote ages along with those who will never die, would be a strange insensibility to human glory.

But as the protection I seek from your Lordship is not like those blind

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Asylums founded by Superstition to screen iniquity from civil vengeance, but of the nature of a TEMPLE OF JUSTICE, to vindicate and support the Innocent, You will expect to know the claim I have to it; and how, on being seized with that epidemic malady of idle, visionary men, the *projecting to instruct and reform the Public*, I came to stand in need of it.

I had lived to see --- it is a plain and artless tale I have to tell --- I had lived to see what Law-givers have always seemed to dread, as the certain prognostic of public ruin, that fatal Crisis when RELIGION HATH LOST IT'S HOLD ON THE MINDS OF A PEOPLE.

I had observed, almost the rise and origin, but surely very much of the progress of this evil: for it was neither so rapid to elude a distinct view, nor yet so slow as to endanger one's forgetting or not observing the relation which its several parts bore to one another: And

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And to trace the steps of this evil may not be altogether useless to those, whoever they may be, who, as the Instruments of Providence, are destined to counter-work its bad effects.

The most painful circumstance in this relation is, (as your Lordship will feel) that the mischief began amongst our friends; by men who loved their Country; but were too eagerly intent on one part only of their Object, the security of its CIVIL LIBERTY.

To trace up this matter to its source, we need go no further back than to the happy Accession of that illustrious House to whom we owe all which is in the power of grateful Monarchs, at the head of a free People, to bestow; I mean, the full enjoyment of the common rights of Subjects.

It fortun'd that at this time, some warm friends of the Accession, newly gotten into power, had too hastily per-

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haps suspected that the CHURCH (or at least that party of CHURCH-MEN which had usurped the name) was become inauspicious to the sacred Æra from whence we were to date the establishment of our civil happiness; and therefore deemed it good policy to lessen the credit of a body of men, who had been long in high reverence with the People, and who had so lately and so scandalously abused their influence in the opprobrious affair of Sacheverell. To this end they invited some learned men, who in the preceding reign had served the common cause, to take up the pen once more against these its most pestilent enemies, the JACOBITE CLERGY. They readily assumed the task, and did it so effectually, that under the professed design of confuting and decrying the usurpations of a popish Hierarchy, they virtually deprived the CHURCH of every power and privilege, which, as a simple Society, she had a claim to; and, on the matter, delivered her up gagged and bound, as the rebel-

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rebel-Creature of the State. Their success (with the prejudice of Power, and what is still stronger, the power of Prejudice, on their side) became yet the easier, as the Tory Clergy, who opposed these Erastian notions, so destructive to the very being of a Church, reasoned and disputed against the Innovators on the principles commonly received, but indeed supported on no sounder a bottom than the authority of Papal or (if they like it better) of Puritanical usurpations: principles, to speak without reserve, ill founded in themselves, and totally inconsistent with the free administration of Civil-government.

In this then, that is, in humbling disaffected Churchmen, the friends of Liberty and the Accession carried their point. But in conducting a purpose so laudable at any time, and so necessary at that time, They had, as we observe, gone much too far; for instead of reducing the Church within its native bounds, and thereby preserving

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it from its two greatest dishonours, the becoming factious, or the being made the tool of Faction, which was all that true Politics required, and all perhaps that these Politicians then thought of; their Instruments, by discrediting every right it had, and even stripping it of some of them, in a little time brought it into general contempt.

But this was not the worst. These Enemies of obnoxious Churchmen found much assistance in the forward carriage of the Enemies of Religion itself; who, at this time, under pretence of seconding the views of good Patriots, and serving the State against the encroachments of Church-power, took all occasions to vent their malice against Revelation itself: And Passion, inflamed by opposition, mixing with Politics thro'out the course of this affair, these Lay-writers were connived at; and, to mortify rebellious Church-men still more, even cried up for their free reasonings against Religion,

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gion, just as the Clergy-writers had been, for their exploits against Church-government. And one man in particular, the Author of a well-known book called the *Independent Whig*, early a favourite, and to the last a Pensioner, carried on, in the most audacious and insulting manner, these two several attacks, together: A measure supported perhaps in the execution, by its coinciding with some Statesmens *private opinions*; tho' the most trite maxims of Government might have taught such to separate their private from their *public* Character. However, certain it is, that the attack never ceased operating till all these various kinds of Free-writing were gotten into the hands of the PEOPLE.

And now the business was done: and the sober Friends of the Government were become, before they were aware, the Dupes of their own policy. In their endeavours to take off the influence

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fluence of a Church, or rather of a party of Church-men inauspicious to a free State, they had occasioned at least, the loosning all the ties which till then Religion had on the minds of the Populace: and which till then, Statesmen had ever thought were the best security the Magistrate had for their obedience. For tho' a *rule of right* may direct the Philosopher to a principle of action; and the *point of honour* may keep up the thing called Manners amongst Gentlemen; yet nothing but *Religion* can ever fix a sober standard of behaviour amongst the common People.

But those bad effects not immediately appearing, our Politicians were so little apprehensive that the matter had already gone too far, that they thought of nothing but how to improve some COLLATERAL advantages they had procured by the bargain; which, amongst other uses, they saw likewise, would

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would be sure to keep things in the condition to which they were reduced. For now Religion having lost its hold on the People; the Ministers of Religion were of no further consequence to the State; nor were Statesmen any longer under the hard necessity of seeking out the most eminent, for the honours of their Profession: And without necessity, how few would submit to such a drudgery! For Statesmen of a certain pitch are naturally apprehensive of a little sense, and not easily brought, whether from experience or conviction, to form ideas of a great deal of gratitude, in those they have to deal with. All went now according to their wishes. They could now employ Church-honours more directly to the use of Government, that is, of their own, by conferring them on such subjects as most gratified their taste or humour, or served best to strengthen their connexions with the Great. This would of course give the finishing stroke to
their

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their System. For tho' stripping the Church of all power and authority, and exposing it naked and defenceless to its enemies, had abated men's reverence for it; and the detecting Revelation of imposture, serving only for a State-engine, had destroyed all love for Religion; yet they were the INTRIGUES OF CHURCH-PROMOTION which would make the People despise the whole Ordinance.

Nor did the hopes of a better generation give much relief to good men's present fears or feelings. The People had been reasoned out of their Religion, by such Logic as it was: and if ever they were to be brought back to a sober sense of their condition, it was evident they must be reasoned into it again. Little thought and less learning were sufficient to persuade men of what their vices inclined them to believe; but it must be no common share of both, which, in opposition to those vices,

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vices, shall be able to bring them to themselves. And where is that to be expected, or likely to be found? In the course of forty or fifty years (for I am not speaking of present transactions) a new Generation or two are sprung up: And those, whom their Profession has dedicated to this service, Experience has taught, that the talents requisite for pushing their fortune, lie very remote from such as enable men to figure in a rational defence of Religion. And it is very natural to think that, in general, they will be chiefly disposed to cultivate those qualities on which they see their Patrons lay the greatest weight.

I have, my Lord, been the longer and the plainer in deducing the causes of a recent evil, for the sake of doing justice to the ENGLISH CLERGY; who in this instance, as in many others, have been forced to bear the blame of their Betters. How common is it to
hear

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hear the irreligion of the times ascribed to the vices or the indiscretions of Church-men! Yet how provoking is such an insult! when every child knows that this accusation is only an Echo from the lewd clamours of those very Scribblers whose flagitious writings have been the principal cause of these disorders.

In this disastrous state of things, it was my evil stars inclined me to write. I began, as these Politicians had done, with the CHURCH. My purpose, I am not ashamed to own, was to repel the cruel inroads made upon its Rights and Privileges; but, I thank God, on honefter principles than those which have been employed to prop up, with Gothic buttresses, a Jacobite or High-Church Hierarchy. The success was what I might expect. I was read; and by a few indifferent and intelligent Judges, perhaps, approved. But as I made the CHURCH neither a Slave nor
3 a Tyrant

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a Tyrant (and under one or other of these ideas of it, almost all men had now taken party) *The Alliance between Church and State*, tho' formed upon a Model actually existing before our eyes, was considered as an Utopian refinement. It is true, that so far as my own private satisfaction went, I had no great reason to complain. I had the honour to be told by the heads of one Party, that they allowed my *principles**; and by the heads of the other, that they espoused my *conclusion*†; which however amounted only to this, that the One was for LIBERTY however they would chuse to employ it; and the Other for POWER, however they could come at it.

I had another important view in writing this book. ---- Tho' nobody had been so shameless to deny *the use of Religion to civil Government*, yet

* Bishop Ho.

† Bishop Sh.

certain

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certain friends of Liberty, under the terror of the mischiefs done to Society by Fanaticism, or Religion run mad, had, by a strange preposterous policy, encouraged a clamour against ESTABLISHMENTS: the only *mode* of Religion which can prevent what they pretended to fear; that is, its degenerating into Fanaticism. It is true, had these Clamourers not found more enemies to the *Establishment* than they had made, (enemies on solid grounds, to wit, the sense of their exclusion from the emoluments of a national Church) an *Establishment* had hardly given umbrage to the appointed Protectors of it. But these had the Sectaries to care for: and a private and pressing interest will often get the better of the most indispensable maxims of good policy.

It was for this reason, my Lord, that so much of the book is employed in the defence of a *national* or an *established* Religion; since, under such a Form,

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Form, FANATICISM can never greatly spread: and that little there will always be of this critical eruption of our diseased Nature, may have the same good effect on the *Established Religion* which weak Factions are observed to have on the administration of Government; it may keep men more decent, alert, and attentive to the duties of their Charge.

Where then was the wonder, that a subject so managed, and at such a juncture, should be violently opposed, or to speak more truly, be grossly misrepresented. Those in the new system accused me of making the State a slave to the Church; those in the old, of making the Church a slave to the State: and one passionate Declaimer, as I remember, who cared equally for Church and State, was pleased to say, that, the better to *banter* mankind, I had done both*.

* Lord B.

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Having thus, in the foolish confidence of Youth, cast in my Goose-quill, to stem a torrent that in a little time was to bear down all before it ; I proceeded, with the same good faith, in another romantic effort, The support of RELIGION itself.

You, my Lord, who feel so humanely for the Injured, on whomsoever POPULAR INJUSTICE may chance to fall, have hardly forgotten the strange reception with which this my fair endeavour was entertained ; and principally by Those whose interests I was defending. It awaked a thousand black passions and idiot prejudices. The Zealots inflamed the Bigots.

*—'Twas the Time's plague,
When madmen led the blind.*

For, the noble prosecution of real Impiety was now over ; or, at least, no longer serious. What remained, to belye a zeal for Religion, was a ridiculous

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lous Tartuffism ; ridiculous because without the power to persecute : otherwise, sufficiently serious, as it was encouraged by men, at that time, in eminence of place *. For false Zeal and unbelieving Politics always concur, and often find their account in suppressing NOVELTIES.

But things, unnaturally kept up in a state of violence, in a little time subside : And tho' the first Writers, let loose against me, came on as if they would devour ; yet the design of those who, at spring and fall, have ever since annually succeeded them, has been, I think, only to eat. The imputation that yet sticks to my notions, amongst many well-meaning men, is, that they are PARADOXICAL. And tho' this be now made the characteristic of my Writings, yet, whether from the amusement which *Paradoxes* afford, or from

* Archbishop P.

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whatever other cause of malice or curiosity, the Public seem still sufficiently eager to see what, in spite of the Argument, and perhaps in spite to it, they are pleased to call my CONCLUSION. And as in your Lordship's progress thro' your high Stations (for I will not take my comparison lower while my subject is public favour) men no sooner found you in one than they saw you necessary for a higher; so every preceding Volume seemed to excite a stronger appetite for the following; till, as I am told, it came to a kind of impatience for the *last*: which must have been strangely obstinate if in all this time it has not subsided. And yet it is very possible it may not: For the good natured pleasure of seeing an Author fill up the measure of his Paradoxes is worth waiting for. Of all men, I would not appear *vain* before your Lordship; since, of all men, You best know how ill it would become my *pride*. Nor am I indeed in much danger

ger

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ger to have my head turned by this flattering circumstance, while I remember that RABELAIS tells us, and I dare say he tells us truth, that the Public of his times were full as impatient for the *conclusion* of the unfinished story of the giant Gargantua and his son Pantagruel.

I have now, both leisure and inclination to gratify this Public fancy, after having put my last hand to these two Volumes: A work of reasoning; and tho' fairly pursued, and, as I thought, brought home to its CONCLUSION, yet interspersed with variety of Philologic dissertations: For I had to do with a sort of Readers not less delicate than that fastidious Frenchman, who tells us in so many words, that---
La REASON a tort des qu' elle ENNUYE.
As my purpose therefore was to bring *Reason* into good Company, I saw it proper now and then, to make her
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wait without, lest by her constant presence she should happen to be thought tiresome. Yet still I was careful not to betray her rights : and the Dissertations brought in to relieve the oppressed attention of the Reader, was not more for his sake than for hers. If I was large in my discourse concerning the nature and end of the Grecian MYSTERIES, it was to shew the sense the ancient Lawgivers had of the *use of Religion to Society* : and if I expatiated on the origine and use of the Egyptian HIEROGLYPHICS, it was to vindicate *the logical propriety of the Prophetic language and sentiment*. For I should have been ashamed to waste so much time in classical amusements, and at last to join them to your Lordship's Name, had they not had an intimate relation to the things most connected with Man and his interests.

I have detained your Lordship with a tedious Story ; and still I must beg your
patience

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patience a little longer. We are not yet got to the end of a bad prospect — While I, and others of my Order, have been thus vainly contending *pro Aris* with the unequal arms of Reason, we had the further displeasure to find, that our Rulers (who, as I observed above, had needlessly suffered those ties of Religion to be unloosed, by which, till of late, the passions of the People had been restrained) were struggling, almost as unsuccessfully, *pro Focis* with a corrupt and debauched Community.

General History, in its Records of the rise and decay of States, hath delivered down to us, amongst the more important of its lessons, a faithful detail of every symptom, which is wont to forerun and to prognosticate their approaching ruin. It might be justly deemed the extravagance of folly to believe, that those very *Signs*, which have

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constantly preceeded the fall of other States, should *signify* nothing fatal or alarming to our own. On the other hand, I would not totally condemn, in such a dearth of Religious provision, even that species of piety, which arises from a national pride, and flatters us with being the peculiar attention of Heaven ; who will avert those evils from his favoured People, which the natural course of things would otherwise make inevitable: For, indeed, we have seen (and, what is as strange as the blessing itself, the little attention which is paid to it) something very like such an extraordinary protection already exerted ; which resists, and, till now, hath arrested, the torrent just ready to overwhelm us. The circumstance, I mean, is this :--- That while every other part of the Community seems to lie *in fœce Romuli*, the administration of Public Justice in England, runs as pure as where nearest to its cœlestial Source ;
purer

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purser than Plato dared venture to conceive it, even in his feigned Republic.

Now, whether we are not to call this, the interposing hand of Providence; for sure I am, all History doth not afford another instance of so much purity and integrity in one part, coexisting with so much decay and so many infirmities in the rest: Or whether, profounder Politicians may not be able to discover some hidden force, some peculiar virtue in the essential parts, or in the well-adapted frame, of our excellent Constitution:---In either case, this singular and shining Phænomenon, hath afforded a chearful consolation to thinking men, amidst all this dark aspect from our disorders and distresses.

But the evil Genius of England would not suffer us to enjoy it long; for as if envious of this last support of

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Govern-

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Government, he hath now instigated his blackest Agents to the very extent of their malignity; who, after the most villainous insults on all other Orders and Ranks in Society, have at length proceeded to calumniate even the King's Supreme Court of Justice, under its ablest and most unblemished Administration.

After this, who will not be tempted to despair of his Country, and say, with the good old man in the Scene,

——“ *Ipse si cupiat SALUS*
“ *Servare, prorsus non potest, hanc*
“ *FAMILIAM.*”

ATHENS, indeed, fell by degenerate manners like our own: but she fell the later, and with the less dishonour, for having always kept inviolable that reverence which she, and indeed all Greece, had been long accustomed to pay to her

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her August Court of AREOPAGUS. Of this modest reserve, amidst a general disorder, we have a striking instance in the conduct of one of the principal Instruments of her ruin. The witty ARISTOPHANES began, as all such Instruments do (whether with wit or without) by deriding *Virtue* and *Religion*; and this, in the brightest exemplar of both, the godlike SOCRATES. The Libeller went on to attack all conditions of Men. He calumniated the Magistrates; he turned the Public Assemblies into ridicule; and, with the most *beastly* and *blasphemous* abuse, outraged their Priests, their Altars, nay, the very established Gods themselves. --- But here he stopped; and, unawed by all besides, whether of divine or human, he did not dare to cast so much as one licentious trait against that venerable Judicature. A circumstance, which the Readers of his witty ribaldry, cannot but observe with surprize
and

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and admiration ;--not at the Poet's modesty, for he had none, but at the remaining virtue of a debauched and ruined People ; who yet would not bear to see that clear Fountain of Justice defiled by the odious Spawn of Buffoons and Libelers.

Nor was this the only consolation which ATHENS had in its calamities. Its pride was flattered in falling by apostate Wits of the first Order : while the Agents of public mischief amongst us, with the hoarse notes and blunt pens of Ballad-makers, not only accelerate our ruin, but accumulate our disgraces : Wretches the most contemptible for their parts, the most infernal for their manners.

To conclude. Great Men, my Lord, are sent for the Times ; the Times are fitted for the rest, of common make. ERASMUS and the present CHIEF JUSTICE

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TICE OF ENGLAND (whatever he may think) were sent by Providence, for the sake of humanity, to adorn two periods, when RELIGION at one time, and SOCIETY at another, most needed their support; I do not say, of their great talents, but of that HEROIC MODERATION so necessary to allay the violence of public disorders: for to be MODERATE amidst party-extremes, requires no common degree of patriotic courage.

Such characters rarely fail to perform much of the task for which they were sent; but never without finding their labour ill repaid, even by those in whose service it was employed. That *glory of the Priesthood* left the World, he had so nobly benefited, with this tender complaint, --- “ Hoc tempore nihil scribi aut AGI potest quod non
“ pateat CALUMNIÆ; nec raro fit, ut
“ dum agis CIRCUMSPECTISSIME utram-
“ que

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“ que Partem offendas, quum in u-
“ traque sint qui PARITER INSANIAN.”

A complaint, fated, alas! to be the
motto of every Man who greatly serves
his Country.

I have the honour to be,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's most obliged,

most obedient and

faithful Servant,

February 2, 1765.

W. GLOUCESTER.

TO THE
J E W S.

S I R S,

THE purpose of this work being to prove the DIVINE LEGATION OF MOSES, it will, I hope, have so much merit with you, as to engage your serious attention to the following address; which, from the divinity of Moses's Law, as in this work demonstrated, attempts to shew you, how, by necessary consequence, it follows, that the religion of JESUS is also divine.

But, while I am laying my conclusions before you, let me beseech you not to suffer yourselves to be prejudiced against the evidence, by such kind of fallacies as these; *Both Jews and Christians confess that the religion of Moses came from GOD: but one only, of these two Sects, believe the divinity of that of JESUS: the safest way, therefore, is to adhere to what both sides own to be true.* An argument, which however like, hath not, in all its parts, even so much force as what the idolatrous Romanists are wont to urge against the Reformed—*That as both parties hold salvation may be had*
in

in the church of Rome, and only one party holds it may be had in the churches of the Reformed, it is safest to adhere to popery: which I dare say you laugh at for its impertinence, how much soever you may have deluded others by the same kind of sophistry^a. For if the Roman Catholics, or you, will not take our word for Christianity or Reformation, why do you build any thing upon it, in favour of Popery or Judaism? Both of you will say, perhaps, "because we are prejudiced in the former conclusion; but that the mere force of evidence extorts the latter from us even against ourselves." This is easily said; and may, perhaps, be easily believed, by those who taking their Religion from their ancestors, are apt to measure Truth only by its antiquity. But genuine Christianity offering itself only to the private judgments of men, every sincere enquirer believes as he finds cause. So that if either you or they would give yourselves the trouble to examine our motives, it would appear, that the very same reasons which force us to conclude that Christianity in general, and the Reformed religion in particular, are true, force us at the same time to conclude that the Jewish was from God; and that salvation may be obtained, though with much

^a This, the miserable *Uriel Acosta* tells us was one of the principal arguments that induced him to embrace *Judaism*.—*Præterea veteri foederi fidem dabant tam judæi quam christiani; novo autem foederi soli christiani. Exemplar humanæ vitæ*, p. 346. in fin. *Amica Collat. Phil. a Limborch.*

difficulty,

difficulty, in the church of Rome. Either, therefore, the whole of our conclusion is prejudice, or no part of it is so.

As I would not have you harden your habitual obstinacy in favour of your own Religion, by bad arguments; so neither will I use any such to draw you over to ours.

I shall not therefore attempt that way to bring you to the truth, which some amongst us, little acquainted, as should seem, either with your Dispensation, or the Christian, imagine they have discovered: Who, taking it for granted that the Mosaic Law can be defended only by the Gospel of Jesus, pretend you must first acknowledge our Religion, before you can support your own: and so, which is very hard, will not allow you to have any reasonable assurance of the truth of your Religion till you have forsaken it^b. But I would not urge you with such kind of reasoning, if it were only for this, that I suspect you may not be such utter strangers to the New Testament as not to know, that it

^b “ Dr. Rogers has declared as I remember in one of his sermons, that he could not believe the truth of MOSES’s pretensions were it not for the confirmation given to them by the Gospel. This I take to be a dangerous assertion, that saps the very foundation of Christianity; and supercedes at once the whole purpose of your intended work, by denying any original intrinsic character of divinity to the institution of MOSES.” *Dr. Middleton’s letter to Mr. W. Nov. 30. 1736. Vol. v. of his works.*

lays the foundation of Christianity in Judaism. Besides, right reason, as well as St. Paul (which with us, at present, are still the same thing) would teach you to reply to such Convertists: *Boast not against the branches of the native olive-tree: but if thou boast, thou bearest not the root, but the root thee*^c.

Much less would I employ, in this address, the quainter project of our common Adversary, the FREE-THINKER. For you are to know, that as those I spoke of before, make Christianity too recent, so these make it as much too old; *even as old as the Creation*. Those fall short of the support of Judaism; These overleap it; and assure us, that the only way to bring you to believe in JESUS is to prove Moses an impostor. So, says a late writer: who, by the singular happiness of a good choice, having learnt his *morality* of our Tyn-dal, and his *philosophy* of your Spinoza, calls himself, by the courtesy of England, a MORAL PHILOSOPHER^d.

The road I have taken is indeed very different: and the principles I go upon for *your* conversion, will equally serve, to *their* confutation. For I have shewn that the Law of Moses was from GOD; and, at the same time, that it is only PREPARATORY to the more perfect Religion of JESUS.

^c ROM xi. 18.

^d MORGAN.

DEDICATION.

The limits of this address will not allow me to point out to you any other arguments than what arise immediately from those important circumstances of the Law, discoursed of in this Work. Much less shall I have room to urge you with a repetition of those reasonings, which christian writers have already used with so superior a force against you.

Let us see then what it is that keeps you still enslaved to a galling Discipline, so long after the free offers of Redemption. The two principal reasons, I suppose, are these :

I. First, a presumption that the Religion of Moses is perfect ; so full and complete in all its members as to be abundantly capable of supplying the spiritual wants of men by preparing and fitting human nature for the enjoyment of the supreme Good, and by proposing and procuring the possession of that Good. Hence you conclude, and were your presumption well grounded, not unreasonably, that the Law was given as a perpetual ordinance, to be observed throughout all your generations for ever.

II. The second is a persuasion that the Prophecies (a necessary credential of the Messiah) which, we say, relate to JESUS, relate not to him in a *primary* sense; and that a *secondary* sense is a fanatic vision raised by deluded Christians to uphold a groundless claim.

For

For thus one of our common enemies, who hath inforced your arguments against us, tells the world, you are accustomed to speak. *All the books written by Jews against the christian Religion* (says he) *some of which are printed, and others go about Europe in manuscript, chiefly attack the New Testament for the allegorical interpretations of the Old Testament therein, and with the greatest insolence and contempt imaginable on that account; and oppose to them a single and literal interpretation as the true sense of the Old Testament. And accordingly the allegorical interpretations given by christian expositors of the Prophecies are now the grand obstacle and stumbling-block in the way of the conversion of the Jews to Christianity*^c.

These, it seems, are the two great impediments to your conversion. Give me leave then to shew you how the reasoning of this book removes them.

I. As to the *perfection* of your Religion, it is here proved, that, though it indeed had that specific perfection, which no Religion coming from God can want^f, that is, a full capacity of attaining its end, which was the separation of the race of Abraham from an idolatrous world; yet that it was *perfect* only

^c *Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion*, p. 82, 83.

^f See this proved against Lord Bolingbroke, vol. iv. p. 207, & seq.

in this restrained, and relative sense. As to absolute independent perfection, the Law had it not.

1. That it had no *perfection* with regard to the *improvement of human nature* for the enjoyment of the supreme good, I have shewn from the genius of your whole religious Worship; and its general direction against the various idolatries of those early ages. And in this I have a Doctor of your own, the famous MAIMONIDES, for my warrant: who indeed little thought, while he was proving this truth in so invincible a manner, that he was preparing the more reasonable part of his Brethren for the reception of the Gospel. It is true, some of your later writers have seen better into this consequence: and *Orobio*, in his dispute with Limborch, hath part of a chapter^s to disprove, or, rather, to deny the fact. But if your religious Worship consist only of a multifarious burdensome Ritual, relative to the Superstitions of those early times, it must needs be altogether unable to perfect human nature in such a manner, as you do and must allow to be God's design, in a revealed Religion, universal and perpetual.

2. Again, as to the second branch of this perfection, the *proposing and procuring the pos-*

^s The title of the chapter is: Quod ritualia non erant præcisè ut Israël ab aliis populis separaretur; neque lex neque populus propter Messiam, sed hic propter populum, ut ei inserviret, p. 86. *Ed. Gond.*

session of the supreme Good: I have shewn that the Law of Moses revealed NO FUTURE STATE of rewards and punishments, but studiously declined the mention of any doctrine preparatory to it: that no Mosaical Tradition supplied this omission: and that it did not become a national doctrine amongst you till the later times of your republic; when it arose from various and discordant sources; and was brought in on foreign occasions. But it is certain, that That Religion must fall very short of absolute perfection, which wants a doctrine so essential to Religion in generalⁿ. And

ⁿ Here Dr. Stebbing charges me with *contradiction*; [Exam. p. 9.] first in asserting, that *a future state made no part of the Religion of Moses*; and then that *a future state was essential to Religion in general*. Now this which he is pleased to call a *contradiction*, I brought as an argument for the divinity of the Law; and supposed it to be conclusive by its consistency. — Where I speak of *Religion in general*, I explain my meaning to be, a *Religion universal and perpetual*, such as Natural Religion and the Christian; and from thence I argue, that if a future state be essential to a *Religion universal and perpetual*; and a future state be not found in the Religion of Moses, that then the Religion of Moses was not *universal and perpetual*, but local and temporary; the point I was enforcing, in order to bring over the Jews to the Gospel of Jesus. If the Doctor supposes, that what is essential in one species of Religion must be essential in the other, this is supposing them not to be of different species, but one and the same; that is, it supposes, that they are and that they are not of the same species. — But, continues our Doctor, “If you should say, that your argument is levelled against the Jews, considered only in their present state, in which they are not under an equal Providence, *this answer will not serve you*. For as in their present state they are not under any extraordinary Providence, so neither do they want the doctrine of a future state, of which you tell us they have been in possession long ago.” p. 11. What pains does this learned Doctor take to make my application to the Jews, in favour of Christianity, ineffectual!

And this, you yourselves at length seem to have been aware of: for though, during the existence of your Republic, the deniers of a future state, such as the Sadducees, were not cut off from the rights of the Synagogue; yet since that time, it hath been generally held by your Doctors for a *prime* cause of excommunication: — One of them says, that it is *the very fundamental of fundamentals*ⁱ; —

ineffectual! Your Religion (say I to them) teaches no future state. You are at present under the common unequal Providence of Heaven. How disconsolate is your condition! Not so bad neither, replies their Advocate, Doctor Stebbing. They now have a *future state*. How came they by it? By the *Law*? No matter, says he, they have it, and that is enough to destroy all the force of your persuasion to embrace the Gospel. Not altogether enough, good Doctor: for if they have not the future state by the *Law*, (and that truth I take for granted in this address to them, as I think I reasonably might, after I had proved it at large) their future state, even by their own confession, is a Phantom; and to gain the Substance there is no way left but to embrace the Gospel. They themselves own this truth: for in the words quoted below, they confess that *to believe a future state, and yet that it was not revealed by the LAW, is the same thing as not to believe it at all*. — It is a sad thing when Polemics or blacker passions have gotten so entire possession of a man's heart that he cares not what harm he does to a common cause, or even to common sense, so he can but ANSWER the man or the opinion he happens to dislike.

ⁱ Scripsit Rab. (Maimon.) p. m. Articulus fundamentalis decimus tertius agit de resurrectione, cujus rationem (quomodo se habeat) & fundamenta jam exposuimus. Quod si homo crediderit fundamenta illa omnia, seque illa credere declaraverit, ingreditur Ecclesiam Israël, & jubemur diligere illum, & misericordiam illi exhibere, & conversari cum illo juxta omnia, quæ præcepit Deus benedictus cuilibet erga proximum facienda. — Si quis autem vilipenderit hoc fundamentum excellentium fundamentorum, ecce exit ille ex Ecclesia, quippe qui abnegat articulum fidei, & vocatur impius ac Epicureus, amputatque plantas, quem odio habere & perdere jubemur. *Ex beth Elobim*. Vid. *Dassovium de Resurrectione*. Ed. 1693.

Another, that *to deny this is the same thing as to deny GOD himself, and the Divinity of his Law^k*; and a third, that *even to believe it, and yet not believe that it was revealed by the Law, is the same thing as not to believe it at all^l*.

But you will do well, when you have considered the force of those reasonings by which I prove a future state not to be revealed by the LAW of Moses, to go on with me, (for the free thoughts of many amongst you, concerning Revelation in general, give scandal to the professors of more than one Religion) while I prove, from thence, by necessary consequence, that this LAW came from GOD: And, in conclusion, join with me in adoring the infinite Wisdom of the GOD of your Fathers, here so wonderfully displayed, in making one and the same circumstance a standing evidence of the divinity of the Mosaic Religion, and, at the same time, an irrefragable proof that it was preparatory only to the Christian; The logical result of all our reasoning being the confirmation of this sacred truth, long since

^k Hæc fides [de Resurrectione mortuorum] — numeretur inter articulos Legis & fundamenta ejus, quam qui negat, perinde facit ac si negaret esse Deum, legem esse a cœlo, & quod in aliis istis articulis tractatur. R. Salomo ap. Daffovium de Resurrect.

^l Oportet te scire articulum fidei de resurrectione mortuorum ex lege esse. Quod si quis fide firma crediderit resurrectionem mortuorum, non autem crediderit esse illam ex lege, ecce ille reputatur ac si hæc omnia negaret. R. Jehud. Zabara apud Daffov.

enounced

enounced by a great Adept in your Law, That THE LAW MADE NOTHING PERFECT, BUT THE BRINGING IN OF A BETTER HOPE DID^m.

Permit me to observe farther, that this rabbinical notion of a future state of rewards and punishments in the Mosaic Dispensation, which still encourages the remnant of your Nation to persist in rejecting the Gospel of Jesus, was the very prejudice which, in the first ages of Christianity, so superstitiously attached the Converts from Judaism, to the whole observance of the Law.

As a Corollary to all this, I have shewn, that the *punishment of Children for the crimes of their Parents*, which hath given a handle to the enemies of your Law to blaspheme, can be only well explained and vindicated on the Principle of *no future state* in the Religion of Moses: And farther, that, on this Principle, all the inextricable embarrass of your Rabbins, in their endeavours to reconcile the different accounts of Moses and the Prophets concerning that method of punishment, is intirely removed, and a perfect harmony and concord is seen to reign amongst them. But at the same time that the Principle does this, take notice, it disables you from accounting for the length of your present dispersion. For the only reason your best defender, Orobio, had to assign

^m HEB. vii. 19.

for it was, that *you now suffer not for your own sins but for the sins of your Forefathers.* But the Principle which reconciles Moses and the Prophets, shews that this mode of punishment hath long since ceased.

II. In answer to the *second* part, your prejudices against the credentials of JESUS's Messiahship, for the want of rational evidence in a *secondary sense* of Prophecy; I have proved those prejudices to be altogether vain and groundless, 1. By tracing up the nature of human converse in speech and writing, from its early original; and from thence evincing, that a *secondary sense of Prophecies* is proper, rational, and conformable to the justest rules of grammar and logic. 2. By shewing that this method of information was so exactly suited to the occasion, that if ever you were to have a *Messiah* to compleat your Law, the body of the Prophecies, relating to him, must needs be given in the very manner which those in dispute are actually given: For that, had these Prophecies recorded the nature of the Messiah's Kingdom in plain and direct terms, it would have defeated the very end and purpose of the Law. And this, on reflexion, you will find a sufficient answer to those FOUR QUERIES into which your ablest Defenderⁿ has collected the whole strength of your cause.

As

* OROBIO. 1. Ut assignetur locus aliquis in quo Deus mandaverit, aut dixerit expresse, quod fides in Messiam est absolute necessaria

As a Corollary, likewise, to this part, I shew, in order to reconcile you still farther to the Messiahship of JESUS, that the history of GOD's Dispensations to your Fathers, even before his giving the Law, can never be rightly understood, or fully cleared from the objections of Unbelievers, but on the supposition of the redemption of mankind by the death and sufferings of JESUS. And of this I have given a convincing proof in the famous history of the *Command to Abraham* to offer up his Son. Which I prove to be no other than a REVELATION of that Redemption, delivered in action instead of words. This strongly corroborates the Mission of JESUS, and should incline you seriously to consider its force.—Here GOD reveals to your father Abraham the Redemption of Mankind by the death and passion of his Son. Why then, I ask you, should you not

necessaria ad salutem generis humani ; adeo ut qui non crediderit damnandus esset.

2. Ut assignetur locus, in quo Deus dixerit, quod unicum medium ad salutem Israelis, et restitutionis in divinam gratiam, est fides in Messiam jam adventum.

3. Ut assignetur locus, in quo Deus dixerit, quod Israel propter infidelitatem in Messiam erat deperdendus, et abjiciendus in nationibus, ut non sit amplius Populus Dei, sed in æternum damnandus donec Messiam adventum non crediderit.

4. Tandem assignetur locus, in quo dixit Deus, omnia Legalia præter moralia, fuisse umbram, seu figuram futurorum in adventu Messiae, et quod fere omnia quæ & in divina Lege et in Prophetis fuere revelata, MYSTICE et TROPOLOGICE explicare liceat, quantumvis sensus literalis omnino despiciatur. *Amica collatio Limb. p. 1, 2.*

conclude with our learned Apostle, that *to Abraham and his seed the Promises being made, the Covenant that was confirmed before of GOD in CHRIST, the LAW which was four hundred and thirty years after, cannot disanul; that it should make the Promise of none effect°?*

Having thus shewn your Religion to be *partial, imperfect, and preparatory*; and consequently shewn the necessity of its *completion* by the teaching of a *Messiah*; to whose character in the person of JESUS, I have endeavoured to reconcile you, by removing your only plausible objection, the mistaken nature of the Prophecies concerning him; As a Corollary to the whole, I have proved, in order to remove your prejudices for a worldly Prince, and a restoration to a carnal Dominion in Judea, that your race was not at first chosen by GOD, and settled in the land of Canaan as his FAVOURITES, for whom he had a greater fondness than for other of the sons of Adam; but only to serve the general ends of Providence, in its Dispensations to the whole Species; which required the temporary separation of one People from the rest of Mankind, to preserve, amidst an idolatrous world, the great doctrine of the UNITY, as the foundation of that universal Religion to be dispensed by JESUS, when the fulness of time should come. Which time being now come, and

the end obtained, you cannot but confess there is no further use or purpose of a *national separation*.

Let me add the following observation, which ought to have some weight with you. Whoever reads your history, and believes you, on your own word, to be still tied to the Religion of MOSES, and to have nothing to expect from that of JESUS, must needs regard you as a People long since abandoned of God. And those who neither *read* nor *believe*, will pretend at least to think you forsaken of all REASON. Our Scriptures alone give us better hopes of your condition: and excited by the Charity they inspire, I am moved to hazard this address unto you. For a time, as they assure us, will come, when this veil shall be taken from your hearts. And who knows how near at hand the day of visitation may be? At least, who would not be zealous of contributing, though in the lowest degree, to so glorious a work? For *if the fall of you be the riches of the World, and the diminishing of you, the riches of the Gentiles, how much more your fulness*^p! says the Apostle Paul. Who at the same time assures us, that *blindness in part is happened to Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in. And so all Israel shall be saved*^q.

^p ROM. xi. 12.

^q VER. 25, 26.

I know you will be ready to say, “ that much of this sort of Charity hath been preached to your People even amidst the horrors of the Inquisition; and that it has always made a suitable impression: that indeed, in a land of liberty like Britain, you should have thought much more favourably of our good will, had not a late transaction, in which your natural rights came in question, amply convinced you that Christian Charity is every where the same.”

Sufferers, even imaginary ones, may be excused a little hard language; especially when they only repeat the clamours of those amongst ourselves; who, on the defeat of your Naturalization project, affected to feel most sensibly for the interests of Liberty and Commerce. And yet I think it no difficulty to convince unprejudiced men that the Sanctity of Government was, in the first instance, surprised; and that the Legislature did justly as well as politicly in acting conformably to their *second thoughts*.

A People like this of Great Britain, the genius of whose Religion and Government equally concur to make them tender and jealous of the rights of mankind, were naturally led by their first motions to think they might extend those privileges to your Nation, which they saw plainly were the due even of the followers of Mahomet: And yet for all this they were mistaken.

As

As much a paradox as this may seem, it is easy to shew that in this point, You stand distinguished to your disadvantage from all the Nations upon earth: there being in your case, a peculiar circumstance which must eternally exclude your claim to the general right of Naturalization, in every free Government in Christendom, while men act, not to say with common integrity, but even with common decency, according to their profession.

Let us then consider your case as it is understood by christian Communities; for men must always act, would they act honestly, according to their own conceptions of the case, not according to the conceptions of other men.

Now it is a common principle of Christianity, that God, in punishing your Nation for the rejection of their promised Messiah, hath sentenced it to the irremissible infamy of an unsettled vagabond condition, without Country or Civil policy, till *the fulness of the Gentiles be come in*: and then, as we observed before, our St. Paul declares, that your Nation, converted to the faith in Jesus, shall be received again into favour, and intitled to the privilege of Sons. The sentence denounced upon you was not only the loss of your own Community, but the being *debarred an entrance into any other*. For you are condemned to be aliens and strangers in every land where you abide
and

and sojourn. A punishment which can only respect Particulars, and not the Community; for one People can be no other than aliens and strangers to another People, by the constitution of Nature. So that the sentence against you imports, that the Particulars of your race shall not be received by *Naturalization*, to the rights and privileges of the free born Subjects of those civil States amongst which you shall happen to be dispersed. And we have seen this sentence wonderfully confirmed by the actual infliction of it for the space of seventeen hundred years; which must be confessed to give great credit to the truth of our intrepertation of your Prophecies.

But to understand more clearly what share a christian Community ought to take in PREVENTING ANY INSULT on those Prophecies which it holds to be divine, it will be necessary to consider what will be the worldly condition of your Nation when reinstated in God's favour; which both you and we are equally instructed to expect.

If it shall be, as you imagine, a recovery of your Civil-policy, a revival of the Temple-service, and a repossession of the land of Judea; if this be the mercy promised to your Nation, then indeed the intermediate punishment, between the abolition and the restoration of your divine Policy, can be only the temporary want of it; and consequently the facilitating your entry

entry at present into the several civil Communities of christian men, might well be thought to have no more tendency to insult the general Oeconomy of revealed Religion than the naturalizing of Turks and Tartars.

But the genius of Christianity and the tenor of those Prophecies, as interpreted by Christ and his Apostles, declare such a restoration to the land of Judea and a revival of the Temple-service, to be manifestly absurd, and altogether inconsistent with the nature of the whole of God's religious Dispensation : for by this it appears, that the Mosaic Law or Religion (as distinguished from its foundation, natural Religion, on which it was erected) was only PREPARATORY to, and TYPICAL of the Gospel. Consequently, on the establishment of Christianity, the Political part of your institution became abolished; and the Ritual part entirely ceased; just as a scaffold is taken down when the building is erected; or as a shadow is cast behind when the substance is brought forward into day. Nor were you, after this promised conversion, to expect ANY OTHER Civil policy or religious Ritual peculiar to yourselves, or separate from those in use amongst men who profess the name of Christ: because the Gospel, of which you are now supposed to be professors, disclaims all concern with political or civil matters; and because ALL its professors compose but ONE religious Body, under one head which is Christ.

All

All therefore that remains for us to conceive of your *civil* condition, when the *fulness of the Gentiles shall be come in*, and Israel be received into grace, is this, That, on your conversion, you shall be NATURALIZED and incorporated, as your convenience or inclination may lead you, into the various civil Communities of the Faithful.

This is the only idea we Christians can entertain of your *future* condition: and this may and must regulate our conduct whenever an alteration of your *present* condition comes in question.

And now to justify the Councils of our Law-givers in their last and perhaps final determination concerning you.

If the DECLARED punishment of heaven on your Nation, while you continue in unbelief, be DISPERSION through the world, WITHOUT A CIVIL POLICY of your own as a People, and WITHOUT A COUNTRY, as Particulars; and that your restoration to favour, on your embracing the Gospel, is the being received into the Church of Christ, and (as you can be received therein only as Particulars, and not as a Nation) the being INCORPORATED into the several civil Communities of christians; then, any ATTEMPT to incorporate you by *Naturalization* into such civil Communities, before the time predicted and while

while you adhere to your old Religion, as directly opposes the Prophecies, or the declared will of Heaven, as the attempt of Julian to rebuild your Temple, after the sentence of its final destruction had been put in execution : because it aims to procure for you a CIVIL CONDITION while Jews, which it is foretold you shall not enjoy till you are become Christians. Nor is it of any avail to those Politicians who were concerned of late in your favour, to pretend that Julian's attempt was with *malice*, and their's with much integrity of heart ; since this difference makes no change in the nature of the action, as it respects God's Dispensations, whatever it may be supposed to do, in the quality of it, as it respects the Actors. In either case the declared will of Heaven is opposed. When it is done with knowledge of the Prophecy, and with intention to discredit it, the attempt is wicked and impious : when with a forgetfulness of it, with a disregard to Religion, and a neglect of its interests, the attempt (even in this best way of considering it) is indecent and dishonourable. Not that He who thus conceives of things, hath the least apprehension that PROPHECY can be dishonoured, or have its predictions defeated by Civil Power : But this He thinks, that a Christian State while it enacts Laws, tho' unwarily, whose operation combats the truth of those Predictions, may very easily dishonour itself.

A Nation professing Christianity, though principally busied in the office of protecting liberty and commerce, ceases not to be a nation of Christians, amidst all their cares to discharge the duties of good Citizens. They have the interests and honour of their Religion to support as well as the common-rights of Mankind. For though Civil society be totally and essentially different from the Ecclesiastical, yet as the same Individuals compose the members of both; and as there is the closest Coalition between both, for their mutual support and benefit; such Civil society can never decently or honourably act with a total disregard to that coalied Religion, which, they profess to believe, and of which, under another consideration, they compose the body.

Perhaps You may tell me, it appears from the manner in which this late affair was conducted, that none of these considerations ever entered into the heads, either of your Friends or, those you will call, your Enemies, when, at length, they both agreed to leave you as they found you. It may be so. Yet this does not hinder but that the result of a Council, may be justified on principles which never influenced it. And as for the credit of Revelation, *that* generally becomes more conspicuous when, thro' the ignorance and perverseness of foolish men, the predictions of Heaven are supported by Instruments which knew not what they

they were about. Had they acted with more knowledge of the case, the enemies of Religion would be apt to say, No wonder that the honour of Prophecy is supported, when the Power which could discredit it, held it an impiety to make the attempt.

Thus you see the British Legislature is justified in its last determination concerning you, on all the general principles of piety, honesty, and decency. I speak of men, and I speak to men, who *believe* the Religion they profess. As for those profligates, whether amongst yourselves or us, who are ready to profess *any* Religion, but much better disposed to believe *none*, to them, this reasoning is not addressed. Have a fairer opinion therefore of our Charity, and believe us to be sincere when we profess ourselves,

Your &c.

P R E F A C E

they were about. Had they acted with more knowledge of the case, the enemies of Religion would be apt to say. No wonder that the honour of Prophecy is supported, when the Power which could contradict it, holds it as an infirmity to make the attempt.

Thus you see the British Legislature is justified in its last determination concerning you, on all the general principles of piety, honesty, and decency. I speak of men, and I speak to men, who know the Religion they profess. As to whole professions, whether amongst you, selves or us, who are ready to profess any Religion, but much better disposed to believe, to think, this reasoning is not addressed. Have a fairer opinion therefore of our Charity, and believe us to be sincere when we profess

ourselves

P R E F A C E

T O T H E

F I R S T E D I T I O N

in M D C C X L.

TH E Author of *the Divine Legation of Moses*, a private clergyman, had no sooner given his first Volume to the Public, than he was fallen upon in so outrageous and brutal a manner as had been scarce pardonable had it been *the Divine Legation of Mahomet*. And what was most extraordinary, by those very men whose Cause he was supporting, and whose Honours and Dignities he had been defending. But what grotesque instruments of vengeance had BIGOTRY set on foot! If he was to be run down, it had been some kind of consolation to him to fall by savages, of whom it was no discredit to be devoured.

Optat aprum, aut fulvum descendere monte Leonem.

However, to do them justice, it must be owned, that, what they wanted in teeth, they had in venom; and they knew, as all Brutes do, where their strength lay. For reasons best known to BIGOTRY, he was, in spite of all his professions, to be pushed

over to the Enemy, by every kind of provocation. To support this pious purpose, passages were distorted, propositions invented^a, conversation betrayed, and forged letters written^b.

The attack was opened by one who bore the respectable name of a *Country Clergyman*, but was in reality a Town-Writer of a Weekly News-Paper^c; and with such excess of insolence and malice, as the Public had never yet seen on any occasion whatsoever.

Amidst all this unprovoked clamour, the Author had his reasons for sparing these wretched tools of impotence and envy. His friends thought it beneath him to commit himself with such writers; and he himself supposed it no good policy to irritate a crew of Zealots who had, at their first opening, called loudly upon the secular arm. Our Author indeed could talk big to the FREE-THINKERS; for alas, poor men! he knew their weapons: All their arms were arguments, and those none of the sharpest; and Wit, and that none of the brightest. But he had here to do with men in Authority; appointed, if you will believe them, Inspectors-General over clerical Faith. And they went forth in all the pomp and terror of *Inquisitors*; with *Suspicion* before, *Condemnation* behind, and their two assessors, *Ignorance* and *Insolence* on each

^a See the Author's letter to Smallbrook Bishop of Litch. and Cov. in which he accuses the Bishop of this crime; To which accusation, the Public never yet saw either defence or excuse.

^b By one Romaine and one Julius Bate in conjunction.

^c Dr. Webster by name. Who soon after, by a circular letter to the bench of Bishops, claimed a reward for this exploit.

side. — *We must suspect his faith* (say they) — *We must condemn his book* — *We do not understand his argument*^d.

— But it may perhaps be of use to Posterity at least, if ever these slight sheets should happen to come down to it, to explain the provocation which our Author had given for so much unlimited abuse and calumny. The Reader then may be pleased to know, that the Author's first Vol. of *The Divine Legation of Moses* was as well a sequel and support of the *Alliance between Church and State* (a book written in behalf of our Constitution and Established Clergy) as it was an introduction to a projected Defence of *Revelation*. It might likewise be regarded as an intire work of itself, to shew the *usefulness of Religion to Society*. This, and the large bulk of the Volume disposed him to publish it apart; while the present state of Religion amongst us seemed to give it a peculiar expediency, “an open and professed
“disregard to Religion (as an excellent Pastor of our Church observes) “being become the distinguish-
“ing character of the present age. An evil grown
“to a great height in the Metropolis of the Nation,
“and daily spreading thro' every part of it; which
“hath already brought in such dissoluteness and
“contempt of principle in the higher part of the
“world, and such profligate intemperance and
“fearlessness of committing crimes in the lower,
“as must, if this torrent of impiety stop not,
“become absolutely fatal.” Our Author therefore thought, that as this *evil*, which is now spread through the populace, began in *the higher part of*

^d Webster, Ven, Stebbing, Waterland, and others.

^e Bishop of Oxford's Charge, Lond. 1738. 4to. p. 4.

the world, it must be first checked there, if ever it were checked at all. And he knew no better way to do this, than by shewing those People of Condition (who, amidst all their *contempt of religious Principle*, yet professed the greatest zeal for their country and mankind) *that Religion is absolutely necessary for the support of civil Government*. He thought too, this no ill device to get the advocate of Revelation a fair hearing. For he supposed, that unless they could be made to see the *usefulness* of Christianity to Society (which their *contempt of Principle* shewed they yet did not see) they would never be brought to believe its *Truth*, or *Divinity*.

These were his endeavours and designs. What he got for his pains I have already told the Reader.—

In vain had he endeavoured to deserve well of *Religion* at large, and of the *Church of England* in particular;—by fixing the true grounds of morality;—by confuting the atheistic arguments of Bayle, and the flagitious Principle of Mandeville;—by explaining the natures, settling the bounds, and adjusting the distinct rights of *the two Societies*;—and by exposing the impious tenet of Religion's being the contrivance of Politicians.

All this went for nothing with the Bigots. He had departed from the *old posture of defence*, and had projected a new plan for the support of Revelation. *His Demonstration* (says one of them) *if he could make one of it, could never make us amends for changing our posture of defence, and deserting our strong holds*^f. For though they will

^f Webster's *Country Clergyman's* second Letter.

talk, indeed, of the love of truth, and the invincible evidence of our Faith, yet I know not how, even amidst all their Zeal and Fury, they betray the most woful apprehensions of Christianity, and are frightened to death at every foolish Book new-written against Religion, though it come but from the Mint or Bedlam. And what do our directing Engineers advise you to, in this exigence? Do they bid you act offensively, and turn the enemies artillery upon them? By no means. Keep within your *strong holds*. Watch where they direct their battery, and there to your old mud walls clap a buttress; and so it be done with speed, no matter of what materials. If, in the mean time, one more bold than the rest, offer to dig away the rubbish that hides its beauty, or kick down an aukward prop that discredits its strength, he is sure to be called by these men, perhaps to be thought by those who set them on work, *a secret enemy, or an indiscreet friend*^s. He is sure to be assaulted with all the rude clamours and opprobrious names that Bigotry is ever ready to bestow on those it fears and hates.

But this was the fortune of all his betters. It was the fortune of Hooker, Hales, Stillingfleet, Cudworth, Bp. Taylor. They were called *Politiques, Sceptics, Erastians, Deists* and *Atheists*. But CUDWORTH'S case was so particular, that it will excuse a little enlargement.

The Philosopher of Malmesbury was the terror of the last age, as Tindal and Collins have been of this. The press swet with controversy; and every young Church-man-militant would needs try

^s Waterland.

his arms in thundering upon Hobbes's steel cap. The mischief his writings had done to Religion set Cudworth upon projecting its defence. Of this he published one immortal volume; with a boldness uncommon indeed, but very becoming a man conscious of his own integrity and strength. For instead of amusing himself with Hobbes's peculiar whimsies, which in a little time were to vanish of themselves, and their answers with them; which are all now forgotten, from the Curate's to the Archbishop's^h; he launched out into the immensity of the *Intellectual System*; and, at his first essay, penetrated the very darkest recesses of Antiquity, to strip ATHEISM of its disguises, and drag up the lurking Monster into day. Where though few readers could follow him, yet the very slowest were able to overtake his purpose. And there wanted not *country Clergymen* to lead the cry, and tell the world,—*That, under pretence of defending Revelation, he wrote in the very manner that an artful Infidel might naturally be supposed to use, in writing against it; that he had given us all the filthy stuff that he could scrape together out of the sink of Atheism, as a natural introduction to a demonstration of the truth of Revelation: that with incredible industry and reading he had rummaged all antiquity for atheistical arguments, which he neither knew, nor intended, to answer. In a word, that he was an Atheist in his heart, and an Arian in his book*ⁱ. But the worst is behind. These silly calumnies were believed. The much injured Author grew disgusted. His ardour slackened: and

^h Tennison.

ⁱ See Webster's Country Clergyman's first Letter against the *Divine Legation*; and one Mr. John Turner's discourse (a Clergyman likewise) against the *Intel. System*.

the rest, and far greatest part of the Defence, never appeared. A Defence, that would have left nothing to do for such as our Author, but to read it; and for such as our Author's Adversaries, but to rail at it.

Thus spiritual Hate, like carnal Love, levels all distinctions. And thus our Author came to be honoured with the same treatment which it had bestowed upon a CUDWORTH. But as this hate is, for the most part, only envy, under the name of zeal, the Bigots, for their own ease, should be more cautious in conferring their favours. They have given our Author cause enough to be proud: who, as inconsiderable as he is, has, it seems, his —; as well as a LOCKE his *Edwards*, or a CHILLINGWORTH his *Cheynel*. But alas! the public, I am afraid, distinguish better. They see, though these men cannot, that the *Edwards's* and *Cheynels* increase upon us, while the LOCKES and CHILLINGWORTHS are become exceeding rare. Turn then, good Creatures! while you have time, turn your envy on their few remaining successors: and leave our Author in peace. He has parts (had he but suitable morals) even to be of your party. But no time is to be lost. We have a sad prospect before us. The CHILLINGWORTHS of the present age will, in a little time, be no more; while the race of *Cheynels* threatens to be immortal. But this is the fate of human things. The *Geese* of the *Capitol*, we know, remained for ages, after those true defenders of it, the MANLI, the CAMILLI, the AFRICANI, were extinct and forgotten.

And alas! how ominous are the fears of friendship! I had but just written this, when the death of Dr. FRANCIS HARE, late bishop of *Chichester*,

gave me cause to lament my Divination. In him the Public has lost one of the best patrons and supports of letters and religion. How steddily and successfully he employed his great talents of reason and literature in opposing the violence of each religious party in their turns, when court-favour was betraying them into hurtful extremes, the unjust reproaches of Libertines and Bigots will never suffer us to forget. How generously he encouraged and rewarded Letters, let them tell who have largely shared in his beneficence: for his character may be trusted with his enemies, or even with his most obliged friends. In him our Author has lost, what he could but ill spare, one of the most candid of his Readers and ablest of his Critics. What he can never lose, is the honour of his esteem and friendship.

But whatever advantage our Author may have received from the outrage of his enemies, the public is a real sufferer. He had indeed the honour to be known to those few, who could have corrected his errors, reformed his course, and shewn him safely through the wide and trackless waste of ancient times. But the calumnies of the Bigots obliged him to a kind of quarantain, as coming lately from suspected places, from the cabinet-council of *Old Lawgivers*, and the schools of *Heathen Philosophers*; whose infection was supposed to be yet sticking on him. And under such circumstances it is held ill breeding to come near our Superiors.

This disadvantage was the more sensible to him, as few writers have been under greater obligations to consult the satisfaction of capable readers; who gave his first Volume so kind a reception; and waited

waited with a favourable expectation for the following. And if he has made these readers wait too long, he has only this to say, that he would not follow the example of paradoxical writers, who only aim to strike by a novelty. For as his point was truth, he was content his notions should become stale and common, and forego all advantages but their native evidence, before he submitted the prosecution of them to the judgment of the public.

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P R E F A C E

T O T H E E D I T I O N

of MDCCLVIII.

THE subject of these Volumes had occasionally led me to say many things of the genius and constitution of PAGAN Religion, in order to illustrate the divinity of the JEWISH and the CHRISTIAN: Amongst the rest, I attempted to explain the true origin of that opprobrium of our common nature, PERSECUTION FOR OPINIONS^a: And I flattered myself, I had done REVELATION good service, in shewing that this evil owed its birth to the *absurdities of Pagan Religion*, and to the *iniquities of Pagan Politics*: for that the persecutions of the later Jews, and afterwards, of the first Christians, arose from the reasonable constitution of these two Religions, which, by avoiding idolatry, opposed that universal principle of paganism, INTERCOMMUNITY OF WORSHIP; or, in other words, That the Jews and Christians were persecuted as *the enemies of mankind*, for not having Gods in common with the rest of the World.

^a See *Div. Leg.* vol. i. b. ii. sect. 6.

But

But a learned Critic and Divine hath lately undertaken to expose my mistake: He hath endeavoured to prove, that the *first persecution for opinion* was of Christian original; and that the Pagans persecuted the primitive Church, not as I had represented the matter, for the unfociable genius of its Religion, which forbad all intercourse with idolaters, but for its NOCTURNAL AND CLANDESTINE ASSEMBLIES. From whence it follows, as will be seen, by and by, that the first Christians were fanatics, libertines, or impostors; and that the persecuting Emperors, provident for the public safety, legally pursued a bigotted or immoral sect for a CRIME OF STATE, and not for *matter of opinion*.

If it be asked, How a Doctor of Laws, a Minister of the Gospel, and a Judge ecclesiastical, would venture to amuse us with so strange a fancy, all I can say for it is, he had the pleasure, in common with many other witty men, of writing against the *Divine Legation*; and he had the pleasure too, in common with many wise men, of thinking he might indulge himself in any liberties against a writer whom he had the precaution not to name.—But he says, he never read the D. L. I can easily believe him: And will do him this further justice, that, when many have written against it without reading it, he is the first who has had the ingenuity to own it.

His system or hypothesis, as we find it in a late quarto volume, called *Elements of the Civil Law*^b, is, in substance, this,—“ That the same principle, which set the Roman Senate upon profe-

^b By the Rev. Dr. TAYLOR, Chancellor of Lincoln.

“cutting the abominable RITES OF BACCHUS, ex-
 “cited the Roman Emperors to persecute the
 “PRIMITIVE CHURCH.”

But it is fit, this marvellous discovery should be revealed in his own words.—*It may be asked* (says he) *in that almost universal licence and toleration, which the ancients, the Romans particularly, extended to the professors of all religions whatsoever, why the christian profession alone, which might have expected a favourable treatment, seems to stand exempted, and frequently felt the severity of the bitterest persecution*. —If the learned Critic be serious in asking a question, which had been answered, and as would seem, to the general satisfaction, near twenty years ago, I suppose it is, to intimate that no other answer will content him but one from the Persecutors themselves. This then he shall have; tho' it be of sixteen hundred years standing.

PLINY, the younger, when proconsul of Bithynia, acquaints his master with the reasons why He persecuted; and the satisfaction he had in so doing: —“*Neque dubitabam, qualecumque esset quod faterentur, certe PERTINACIAM, ET INFLEXIBIL-
 “LEM OBSTINATIONEM debere puniri*”^a. What was this *froward and inflexible obstinacy*? He tells us, it was refusing all *intercommunity* with paganism; it was refusing to throw a single grain of incense on their altars.

TACITUS, speaking of the persecution which followed the burning of Rome by Nero (the impiety of which action that mad tyrant had charged upon

^c Page 579.

^a Lib. x. ep. 97.

the christians) says, “Haud perinde in crimine
 “incendii, quam ODIO HUMANI GENERIS convicti
 “funt.” By which, I understand him to mean,
 —That tho’ the emperor falsely charged them with
 the burning of Rome, yet the people acquiesced
 in the persecution, on account of the enormous
 crime of which they were convicted, [*i. e.* judged
 guilty in the opinion of all men;] their *hatred to*
the whole race of mankind^f; for nothing but such
 an unnatural aversion, they thought, could induce
 men to persevere in rejecting so universal a principle,
 as *intercommunity of worship*.

^e Ann. l. xv. c. 44.

^f Tacitus, speaking of the Jews, observes that the end of their
 peculiar Rites was to separate them from all other people. From
 their *separation* he inferred their *aversion*. In this sense we are
 to understand him and other Pagan writers, when they exclaim
 against the Jews for their *peculiar Rites*. Each Nation had its
 own: so that, *peculiarity* was a circumstance common to all.
 What differenced the Jewish Rites from all others was their *end*;
 which was to keep the People from all intercommunity with
 the several religions of Paganism; each of which, how differ-
 ent soever in their Rites, held fellowship with one another. —
 But here a famous French Critic, who writes *de omni scibili*,
 comes in support of our English Critic’s system of the PSEUDO-
 MARTYRS of the primitive Church, and says, we all mistake
 Tacitus’s latin. His words are these, —“J’oserais dire que ces
 mots *odio humani generis convicti* pourraient bien signifier, dans
 le stile de Tacite, *convaincus d’être hais du genre-humain*, autant
 que *convaincus de hait le genre-humain*.” [Traité sur la Tole-
 rance, 1763, p. 60.] He tells us, *He dare say*, — what
 not one of

“Westminster’s bold race

dare say, —that these words, *odio humani generis convicti*, may well
 signify in the stile of Tacitus, *convicted of being hated by the hu-
 man race, as well as convicted of hating the human race*.” And
 now Tacitus, so long famed for his political sagacity, will be
 made to pronounce this galimatias from his oracular Tripod,
 “The Jews were not convicted so properly for the CRIME of
 “setting fire to Rome, as for the CRIME OF BEING HATED by all
 “mankind.”

The good emperor AURELIUS was himself a persecutor. It is not to be doubted, when he speaks in condemnation of the Christian sect, but that he would tell the worst he conceived of them: and it must certainly have been that worst, which made him a Persecutor, so much against the mildness of his nature and the equity of his philosophic manners. Now this sage magistrate, in his book of *Meditations*, speaking of the wise man's readiness to give up life, expresses himself in this manner,—“He should be so prepared that
“his readiness may be seen to be the issue of a
“well-weighed judgment, not the effect of MERE
“OBSTINACY, like that of the Christians.” For *intercommunity* being in the number of first principles, to deny these could be owing to nothing but to *mere obstinacy*, or downright stupidity. Here, the mistaken duty of the magistrate, overcame the lenity of the man, and the justice of the philosopher: at other times, his speculations happily got the better of his practice. In his *constitution to the community of Asia*, recorded by Eusebius, he says,—“I know the Gods are watchful
“to discover such sort of men. And it is much
“fitter that they themselves should punish those
“who REFUSE TO WORSHIP THEM, than that we
“should interfere in their quarrel^h.” The emperor, at length, speaks out: and what we could only infer from Pliny, from Tacitus, and from the passage in the *Meditations*, he now declares in so many words; viz. that THE CHRISTIANS WERE PER-

ἢ — Τὸ δὲ ἔτοιμον τῆτο, ἵνα ἀπὸ ἰδικῆς κρίσεως ἐρχῆται, μὴ κατὰ ψιλὴν παρὰτάξιν, ὡς οἱ χριστιανοί. L. xi. §. 3.

^h Εγὼ μὲν οἶδ' ὅτι καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιμελές ἐστι μὴ λανθάνειν τὰς τοιούτης· πολὺ γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐκεῖνοι κολλάσταιεν ἂν τὰς μὴ βηλομένης αὐτὰς προσκυνεῖν ἡ ὑμεῖς. Eccl. Hist. l. iv. c. 13.

SECUTED

SECUTED FOR REFUSING TO WORSHIP THE GODS OF THE GENTILES.

Lastly, the imperial Sophist, who, of all the idolaters, was most learned in this *mystery of iniquity*, as having employed all his politics and his pedantry to varnish over the deformities of persecution, frankly owns, that “the Jews and Christians brought the execration of the world upon them, by their AVERSION TO THE GODS OF THE GENTILESⁱ.”

We have seen, from the MAGISTRATE’S own testimony what it was for which he persecuted. We shall now see, from the PEOPLE’S demand, that they required the exertion of his power, on no other account. It was usual in their sanguinary shews, when criminals and offending slaves were exposed to the beasts, to call out for and demand execution on the Christians, by the formula of ΑΙΠΕ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΘΕΟΥΣ. This was their early language when they required Polycarp for the slaughter. The name ATHEIST was only one of their more odious terms, for a rejector of their Gods. And it was but too natural, when they wanted to have their rage and cruelty thus gratified, to use expressions, which, at the same time that the terms were most calumniating, implied the very crime for which the magistrate was wont to persecute.

What says our learned Civilian to this evidence? He allows Antiquity to have proved the *Faët*, that the pagan emperors did persecute. But for

ⁱ Ἀλλὰ τὸ, Οὐ προσκυνήσεις θεοῖς ἑτέροις· ὃ δὴ μέγα τῆς περὶ τὸν θεὸν φησι διαβολῆς· Θεὸς γὰρ ζῆλωϊης φησι — “Ἀφετε τῶτον τὸν λῆρον, καὶ μὴ τηλικαύτην ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς αὐτῶς ἔλκετε βλασφημίαν. JULIAN apud Cyril. cont. Jul. lib. v.

what, is a question (says he) that *may still be asked*. And the true answer, with your leave, he thinks himself better able to give than the Persecutors themselves. *My reader* (these are his words) *will grant the fact*; and I COME NOW TO ACCOUNT FOR IT. The *account*, we find, had been settled long ago. What of that? It had never passed thro' his philologic Office; and therefore lay still open till our master-critic was at leisure to examine it.

It is not true (says this redresser of wrongs) *that the primitive christians held their assemblies in the night-time to avoid the interruptions of the civil power. But the converse of that proposition is true* IN THE UTMOST LATITUDE, *viz. that they met with molestations from that quarter, because their assemblies were nocturnal*^a.

He says, *it is not true*: The christian Church says, *it is*. Who shall decide? A bundle of Grammarians; or the college of Apostles? I know *his* mind: and I guess at my reader's: And of the two, being at present more disposed to gratify the latter, I shall, for once, venture to bring our Civilian before a foreign Judicatory, that is to say, HOLY SCRIPTURE.

From Scripture we learn, that the first christian assembly, held in the *night time*, was the very night after the RESURRECTION; when the disciples met in a *clandestine* manner, with the doors made fast upon them: and this we are assured, was to *avoid the interruptions of the civil power*; or, in the plainer words of St. John, FOR FEAR OF THE JEWS^b: for the Soldiers' story of the resurrection

^a Id. ib.^b JOHN XX. 19.

began now to make a noise ; and the Jewish rulers were much startled and enraged at it. But when the fright of the disciples was a little over, and things had subsided into a calm, the next assembly, we hear of, was *in the day time* ; without any marks of the former wary circumspection^c. These open meetings were repeated as often as the returns of public worship required : sometimes shifting from house to house ; sometimes more stationary in the Temple^d.

But when now the MIRACLES, worked by the apostles in confirmation of the soldiers' story, had alarmed the rulers afresh ; and Peter and John, whom they had put into prison, were, on their releasement, enjoined silence, the Church, assembled in this exigence to implore the divine direction touching the extent of their obedience to the civil power, was answered by sensible signs from heaven, as at the day of pentecost.—*And when they had prayed* (says the historian) *the place was shaken where they were assembled together ; and they were all filled with the holy ghost, and they spake the word of God WITH BOLDNESS^e.*

Here we see, that this second persecution had a different effect upon the Church from the former. At first, they assembled in a clandestine manner *for fear of the Jews* ; now, they continued *openly* in the Temple *to speak the word of God with boldness*. This conduct seemed good to the Holy Ghost : and the reason is not difficult to comprehend. The Church was now, for the first time, solemnly enjoined silence by Authority. It was fit

^c ACTS i. 14.—ii. 1.
iv. 31.

^d ACTS ii. 46.

^e ACTS

it should be as solemnly decided, Who was to be obeyed; God, or the civil Magistrate. But this was not all: the decision served another very great purpose; it served, to disseminate the Faith: for the natural consequence of the disciples' persisting to discharge their ministry, after they had been formally forbidden, was their being *scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria*^f. Had the Church taken its usual remedy against civil violence, namely *secret assemblies*, (which, in ordinary cases, modesty and a sober regard to authority prescribe) the faithful had not been dispersed; and the purpose of divine Providence, in the speedy propagation of the Gospel, had not been properly effected.

This being the case, In the interval between the dispersion, and St. Paul's miraculous conversion, we hear of no *nocturnal assemblies*; unless you reckon in the number that between the Disciples and their illustrious Convert, on the town-wall of Damascus, when they let him down in a basket, to escape his persecutors^g. In this condition, things remained till Paul's return to Jerusalem: and then, says my text, *the Churches had rest throughout all Judea and Galilee and Samaria*^h.

From this time, till Herod's persecutionⁱ, we have not one word of any *nocturnal assembly* of the Faithful: but no sooner did that persecution commence than those meetings were again reassumed. The Church assembled at midnight to pray for Peter's deliverance out of prison: and he, when he was delivered by their prayers, found more

^f ACTS viii. 1.^g ACTS ix. 25.^h Ver. 31.ⁱ ACTS xii. 1.

difficulty to get to his secreted friends than to escape from his gaolers ^k.

In a word, from this history of the first propagation of the Faith, we learn, that, in times of persecution, the Church assembled by stealth, and in the night: but whenever they had a breathing time, and were at liberty to worship God according to their conscience, they always met together openly, and in the face of day. Thus when Paul came first to Rome (where this sect shared in the general toleration of foreign worship, till the magistrate understood that it condemned the great principle of *intercommunity*) we learn, that he freely discharged the office of his ministry *from morning to night*^l. And the sacred writer, as if on purpose to insinuate, that, when the Church had rest from persecution, it never crept into holes and corners, ends his narrative in this manner: — *And Paul dwelt two whole years in his own hired house, and RECEIVED ALL that came in unto him; preaching the kingdom of God and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ, with all confidence, NO MAN FORBIDDING HIM*^m.

It may be objected, perhaps, “that the question is, of the *persecuting Pagans*; and all that has been here said, concerns the *persecuting Jews* only.” It does so: But who can help it? The Jews happened to persecute, first. As to the *question*, that which is essential in it is only this, Whether the primitive Christians held their clandestine assemblies to avoid persecution; or whether they were persecuted for holding clandestine assemblies? — Who persecuted,

^k ACTS xii. 13.
xxviii. 30, 31.

^l ACTS xxviii. 23.

^m ACTS

whether Jews or Pagans, is merely incidental to the question, and wholly indifferent to the decision of it. But it may still be said, "That the Christians having thus gotten the habit of clandestine assemblies in Judea; by that time Churches became formed in the midst of paganism, they continued the same mode of worship, tho' the occasion of its introduction was now over; so that the learned Doctor's position may yet be true, That the Pagans persecuted for those clandestine meetings, which had been first begun in Judea, to avoid persecution, and were now continued in contempt of authority." To this I answer, that the *fact*, on the Doctor's *own* principles, is impossible. According to his principles, clandestine meetings must be prosecuted as soon as observed; and they are of a nature to be observed as soon as practised. Now all Antiquity, both prophane and sacred, assures us, that the christian Church was not persecuted on its first appearance amongst the Pagans: who were not easily brought, even when excited by the Jews, to second their malice, or to support their impotence.

But the *fact* is, in the highest degree, improbable on *any* principles. Had our learned Critic consulted what Philosophers, and not what Philologists, call HUMANITY, that is, the workings of our common nature, he had never fallen into so absurd a conceit, as that the inspired propagators of a Revelation from heaven should, without any reasonable cause, and only in imitation of pagan worship, affect clandestine and nocturnal meetings. For he might have seen, that so strange a conduct had not only been in contempt of their divine Master's example, who, at his arraignment before the high priest, said, *I spake OPENLY to the world; and IN*

SECRET *have I said nothing*ⁿ; but likewise in defiance of his injunction, when he sent them to propagate the faith,—*What I tell you* IN DARKNESS, *that shall you speak* IN THE LIGHT: *and what ye hear* IN THE EAR, *that preach ye* UPON THE HOUSE-TOPS °. Had our Critic (I say) paid that attention to human nature and to the course of the moral world, which he has misapplied upon an old mouldy brass, and a set of strolling Bacchanals^p, he might have understood, that the first Christians, under the habitual guidance of the Holy Spirit, could never have recourse to nocturnal or clandestine conventicles till driven to them by the violence of persecution: he might have understood, that the free choice of such assemblies must needs be an after-practice, when church-men had debased the truth and purity of Religion by human inventions and sordid superstitions; when, on emulous affectation of MYSTERY, and a mistaken zeal for the tombs of the MARTYRS, had made a Hierarchy of that, which at first was only a Gospel-ministry.

On the whole, therefore, we need not, I think, ask leave of this learned man to continue in our opinion, *that the primitive Christians held their assemblies in the night-time to avoid the interruptions of the civil power*; and to esteem his CONVERSE proposition, as he affects to call it (*of their meeting with molestation from that quarter, BECAUSE their assemblies were nocturnal*) as a mere dream or vision.

ⁿ JOHN xviii. 20.

° MATTH. x. 27.

^p All these refined speculations concerning persecution, are at the end of the said book of *Elements*; in a dissertation on a curious ancient tablet, containing the senatorial decree against a crew of wicked Bacchanals, of the size and dignity of our modern Gypsies.

But to hide nothing which may concern a matter of such importance as our Critic's *Discoveries*; I will ingenuously confess, how much soever it may make against me, that there are instances in sacred story of meetings at midnight and before dawn of day, to which *no interruption of the civil Power* had driven the disciples of Christ; but which were evidently done in contempt and defiance of that Power: such, for example, was the clandestine meeting between Mary and the two Angels at the sepulchre^a: that between the Apostles and the Angel of the Lord in the common prison^r: and that, again, between Peter and the same Angel^s: not to speak of another famous *midnight assembly* between Paul, Silas, the Gaoler and an Earthquake^t.

We come now to the learned person's second proposition, called by way of eminence, the CONVERSE; which affirms, *That the primitive Christians met with molestations from the civil power, because their assemblies were nocturnal.* And this he assures us is true IN THE UTMOST LATITUDE; which in his language, I suppose, signifies, *true in the EXACTEST SENSE*, for his argument requires some such meaning. Now in common English — *true in the utmost latitude*, signifies *true, in the LOWEST SENSE*; for the greater latitude you give to any thing the looser you make it. This most eloquent editor of Demosthenes therefore, by *utmost latitude* may be allowed to mean, what makes most to his purpose; tho' it be what an Englishman would least suspect, — *utmost strictness*. And now for his reasoning. — By the *molestations the Christians met with*, we must needs understand the FIRST molesta-

^a JOHN XX. 11, 12.
xii. 7.

^r ACTS v. 18, 19.

^s ACTS

^t ACTS xvi. 25.

tions; all other being nothing to the purpose: for when persecution was once on foot, I make no doubt but the *nocturnal assemblies*, to which persecution had driven them, gave fresh umbrage to the Civil power; it being of the nature of a persecuting spirit to take offence at the very endeavours to evade its tyranny. The question between the learned Civilian and me, is, What gave birth to the *first*, and continued to be the *general*, cause of persecution? He says it arose from *nocturnal and clandestine assemblies*: I suppose it to be occasioned by the *Atheistic* renunciation of the Gods of Paganism.

Now it seems to be a violent prejudice against the learned Critic's system, that no one of those persecutors ever assigned *nocturnal assemblies* as the *first* or *general* cause of persecution; and equally favourable for my opinion, that they all concur in giving another cause; namely, the inhospitable temper of the Christians, in refusing to have Gods in common with the rest of mankind.

PLINY, in doubt how to act with the Christians of his district, writes to his master for instructions. His embarrass, he tells the emperor, was occasioned by his never having been present at their examinations; which made him incapable of judging *what*, or *how* he was to prosecute. “Cognitionibus de
“ Christianis interfui nunquam: ideo nescio *quid*
“ et *quatenus* aut puniri soleat aut quæri.” He wanted to know, whether the very NAME was not criminal; either for itself, or for some mischief hid under it——“Nomen ipsum etiam si flagitiis
“ careat, an flagitia cohærentia nomini puniantur.” But could a Roman Magistrate, when at loss for a pretence to persecute, overlook so fair a one as *voluntary*,

luntary, unforced clandestine assemblies, and hunt after a mormo hid in the combination of four syllables? Not that he wanted a Precedent for proceeding on these visionary grounds; but the very Precedent shews that the Persecutors wanted better. TERTULLIAN assures us, that the Christians had been actually persecuted for the NAME *only*. “Non scelus aliquod
 “ in causa, sed NOMEN; Christianus, si nullius cri-
 “ minis reus, *nomen* valde infestum, si *solius nominis*
 “ crimen est—si nominis odium est, quis nominum
 “ reatus: quæ accusatio vocabulorum? nisi si aut
 “ barbarum sonat aliqua vox nominis, aut infau-
 “ stum, aut maledicum, aut impudicum,” &c.
 From whence, by the way, allow me to conclude, that when a harmless NAME becomes so odious as to occasion the Sect, which bears it, to be persecuted, the aversion must arise from some *essential* principle of that Sect, and not from a *casual* circumstance attending their religious practice.—But to return to Pliny; at last he discovers something worthy of animadversion. It was their FROWARD AND INFLEXIBLE OBSTINACY: —“neque dubi-
 “ tabam, quaecumque esset quod faterentur, per-
 “ vicaciam certe et *inflexibilem obstinationem* debere
 “ puniri.” Now is it possible, if the Christians were first persecuted, and continued to be persecuted, for holding their assemblies in the night-time, that Pliny after so much experience of it, should not know the crime, nor how to proceed against the offenders? What is still more unaccountable, TRAJAN, in answer to this application, is unable to deliver any general rule for the direction of his Minister.—“Neque enim in
 “ universum aliquid, quod quasi certam formam
 “ habeat, constitui potest.” But the assembling in a *clandestine manner by night*, if this was the Crime which gave offence, is an action that admits
 of

of few modifications in a Court of Justice; and so might be commodiously submitted to a general rule. On the other hand, if what the author of the *D. L.* says, be true, that they were persecuted for opposing the principle of INTERCOMMUNITY, we see plainly why no general rule could be delivered. They expressed this opposition in various ways and manners; some more, some less, offensive:—by simply refusing to worship with the Pagans, when called upon; by running to their tribunals uncalled; by making a profession of their faith, unasked; or by affronting the national religion, unprovoked. Now, so just and clement a prince as Trajan might well think, these different modes of expressing their abhorrence of intercommunity, deserved different degrees of animadversion.

When Nero, in a mad frolic, set Rome on fire, and then threw that atrocious act upon the Christians, it is highly probable that the *nocturnal assemblies* of the Faithful (which, by this time, persecution had introduced amongst them) first started the happy thought, and encouraged him to pursue it. Now, if this, which is very probable, and our Critic's hypothesis, which is very improbable, be both true, I cannot see how it was possible for TACITUS, when he acquits them of this calumny, and at the same time expresses the utmost virulence against them, to omit the mention of their nocturnal assemblies, had they been begun without necessity, and obstinately continued after the civil magistrate had forbidden them. Instead of this, all he had to object to the Christians, was their *odium humani generis*: of which, indeed, he says, they were convicted; *convicti sunt*: an expression, without either propriety or truth, unless we suppose

pose he understood their refusal of *intercommunity* to be a conviction: other proof there was none: for when examined on the rack concerning this *hatred of mankind*^u, they constantly denied the charge; and appealed as well to their principles as their practice; both of which declared their universal love and benevolence to all the creatures of God. But to reprobate the Gods of Rome, the *Orbis Romanus*, (of which our Critic can tell us wonders) was proclaiming *hatred and aversion to all the world*. Hence it is that Quintilian, speaking of the topics of dispraise, says that *the Author of the Jewish Religion*, (equally reprobating, with the Author of the Christian, the universal principle of *intercommunity*) *was deservedly hated and held ignominious as the founder of a superstition which was the BANE of all other Religions*.—Et parentes malorum odimus: Et est conditoribus urbium infamiæ, contraxisse aliquam PERNICIOSAM cæteris gentem, qualis est primus Judaicæ superstitionis Auctor. But why *pernicious and baleful to the rest*, if not by accusing and condemning all other Institutions of error and imposture?

MARCUS AURELIUS and JULIAN were vigilant and active; well instructed in the rights of Society; and not a little jealous of the interests of the Magistrate. Yet neither of these princes ever accuse the Christians of running to nocturnal assemblies unprovoked, or of persisting in the practice against imperial edicts. What a field was here for Aurelius, who despised them, to urge his charge of *brutal obstinacy*; and for Julian, who feared them, to cry aloud of *danger to the state*; their two favourite

^u i. e. Concerning their principles and their practice, from whence the Pagans inferred their *hatred of mankind*.

topics against these enemies of their Religion and Philosophy?

But sacred story may help us out where the civil fails: let us see then how this matter stands represented in Scripture: for I make our Critic's cause my own, as supposing we are both in the pursuit of Truth.

I have already given a brief account of the Assemblies of the infant-church, as they are occasionally mentioned in the history of the *Acts of the Apostles*.

Our Critic's *converse* proposition, which we are now upon, only requires us to shew in what light the persecutors of the Apostles considered this matter; and whether *nocturnal assemblies*, when any such were held, either gave advantage to their Jewish accusers, or umbrage to the pagan Magistrate, before whom the propagators of the Gospel were convened.

The persecutions recorded in the history of the *Acts* were almost all of them raised, or at least, fomented, by the Jews. Their several accusations against those they called apostate brethren, are minutely recorded: and yet the crime of *assembling by night* is never brought into account. In the meantime, their point was to make the unwilling Magistrate the instrument of their malice: for this reason they omitted nothing which might tend to alarm the jealousy of the State; as when they accused the Christians of setting up another king, against Cæsar. Had their nocturnal assemblies therefore been held out of *choice*, they would not have neglected this advantage, since nothing could more
alarm

alarm the civil Magistrate than such assemblies. The truth, is, the Jews could not be ignorant of the advantage this would afford them. But conscience and humanity are not to be overcome at once. To accuse those they hated, of what they themselves had occasioned, required a hardness in vice which comes only by degrees; and after a long habit of abusing civil justice and the common rights of mankind.

Our Critic, perhaps, may be ready to say, "That it is probable the Jews did accuse the Christian Church of this misdemeanor, though the historian, in his succinct history of the *Acts*, hath omitted to record it."

But this subterfuge will never pass with those who consider how unwilling the Roman Magistrate always was to interfere in their contests, as clearly apprehending, the subject of them to be of *certain matters concerning their law*: so that under this disposition, nothing could be more effectual to quicken his jealousy and resentment, than the charge of *clandestine assemblies*; of which, doubtless, the Romans were very jealous, as contrary to their fundamental Laws, tho' not so extravagantly umbragious as our Critic's hypothesis obliges him to suppose.

But it will be said, "Were *clandestine meetings* never objected to the primitive Christians?" Yes, very often. CELSUS objected such *meetings* to them, as things contrary to law*. But ORIGEN's reply will set matters right. He says, the Church was driven upon this obnoxious measure to avoid

* ὅσαι καὶ νόμος γίνονται. *Orig. cont. Cels.*

the unjust persecution of its enemies^y: Nay Celsus, in a more ingenuous humour, confesses, they had reason for what they did; there being no other way to escape the severest punishments^z. At least then, I have the honour of finding this reverend Epicurean on my side, against our Civilian and his *converse proposition*.

These meetings, therefore, it is confessed, subjected the Church to much censure; but that was all. Tertullian, vindicating the Christians on this head, says — “Hæc coitio christianorum merito
“fane illicita, si illicitis par; merito damnanda,
“si quis de ea queritur eo titulo quod de factioni-
“bus querela est^a.” The passage is remarkable; and shews, not only that the Christians were never brought into condemnation for nocturnal meetings; but, why they were not; namely because nothing bad or even suspicious could be proved against them. The *law of the twelve tables* says, “Si qui
“in urbe coetus nocturnos agitassit, capital esto;” meaning, if celebrated without the licence of the magistrate^b. The Christians applied for this li-
cense:

^y ἀπὸ τῆ κοινῆ κινδύνου.

^z ἡ μάλιστα τὸ τοιοῦτον ποιεῖσιν, ὅτε διωθόμενοι τὴν ἐπιτηρημένην αὐτοῖς δίκην τῆ θανάτου.

^a *Apol.* cap. xxxviii.

^b This appears to be the true sense of the *Law*, from a passage in Cicero's dialogue *De Legibus*. Atticus thought him too severe upon *nocturnal assemblies*: he vindicates himself by observing, that, even in the midst of Greece, Diagondas, the Theban, totally abolished them. — Ne nos duriores forte videamur, in media Græcia, Diagondas Thebanus lege perpetua sustulit. From hence I infer these two things; That, were not the *Law of the twelve tables* to be understood in the sense here given

cence: it was denied them. They assembled: and such assemblies are only liable to animadversion, if any thing criminal or immoral be committed in them. Crimes were indeed pretended; but on enquiry, as we find by Pliny, they could not be proved. This I take to be the true explanation of Tertullian's argument: by which we understand that the Christians were not *persecuted*, but only *calumniated*, for their nocturnal assemblies.

Maximus, a pagan Philosopher of Madaura, desires to know of AUSTIN why the Christians so much affected *mystery*. To which, the answer is, "That, without doubt, this idolater did not mean, the meetings in caverns and sepulchres, in which the faithful were wont to assemble, during the heat of persecution — but their mysteries of Baptism and the Lord's-supper." St. Austin supposes Maximus did not intend to object to their clandestine meetings: however if he did, he is ready to justify them on the plea of necessity, and to avoid persecution. Another sad discredit to the *converse proposition*.

But since our Civil Judge is so eager to have the primitive Christians found guilty of *a crime of state*, at his tribunal; I will, out of tenderness to his credit, and deference to his authority, consent to give them up; and fairly confess, they were not only accused, but even punished for high

to it, Cicero needed not have gone so far as Thebes for his justification: and secondly, that his laying so much stress upon the abolition's being made in the midst of Greece, shews how strongly in his opinion, that country was attached to *nocturnal assemblies*.

treason, the *crimen læsæ majestatis*. The process was thus carried on. Christians refused to worship the Gods of Rome. Sacrificing for the safety of the empire, and for the life of the emperor, made part of that worship. If the Christians could not worship, they could not sacrifice: But this sacrifice was esteemed a necessary part of civil obedience. The omission of it, therefore, was a crime of state, and amounted to high treason. Tertullian sums up the charge, and pleads guilty to it. “Deos
 “inquitis (says he, repeating the pagan accusa-
 “tion) non colitis, et pro imperatoribus sacrificia
 “non impenditis:—sacrilegii & majestatis rei con-
 “venimur. SUMMA HÆC CAUSA, IMO TOTA EST.” Here again we see, Antiquity gives the exclusion to the *converse proposition*: for if this was the only cause of persecution, certainly nocturnal assemblies was not one. I could wish therefore, by this *crime of state*, to save the learned Doctor’s credit and authority. But I am afraid, on examination, it will prove no more than their refusal to *communicate* in pagan worship. Tertullian himself, in the passage quoted above, makes it amount to no more. However, it was esteemed to be the *crimen læsæ majestatis*: and this we are not to wonder at; for one of the greatest ornaments of Paganism, long before the moving this question, had declared, that even the *exclusive* worship of one God came pretty near the matter. MAJESTATEM IMPERII NON DECUISSE UT UNUS TANTUM DEUS COLATUR, says Cicero, in his oration for Flaccus.

You see then, at length, to what our Critic’s discovery amounts. No marvel he triumphs in it. “And now (says he) can any one doubt that
 “the considerations I have mentioned were those
 “which GAVE AN EDGE to the Roman persecu-
 “tions?”

“ tions? The professors of Christianity had NO
 “ REASON to be apprehensive of any severities upon
 “ the score of religion, any more than the pro-
 “ fessors of ANY OTHER RELIGION besides. *Anti-*
 “ *quity, in its public capacity*, was generally very in-
 “ dulent to all who dissented from the established
 “ worship: persecution for DIFFERENCE OF BE-
 “ LIEF ALONE owes its nativity to more modern
 “ ages, and Spain was its country; where Pris-
 “ cillian, by some, is held to be the first sufferer
 “ for mere opinion ^a.”

—And now can any one doubt that the consi-
 derations I have mentioned were those which GAVE
 AN EDGE to the Roman persecutions?—For a trusty
 Guide, allow me to recommend him, to the reader;
 whom he is ready to mislead, the very first step he
 makes. The question is, and so he himself has
 stated it, *what OCCASIONED the roman persecutions?*
 Here, he changes it to—*What GAVE AN EDGE to*
them?—*Nocturnal assemblies* might give an edge to
 the persecutions, and yet all be true that his Adver-
 sary affirms, and the persecutions be *occasioned* by a
 very different thing.—But our Critic is so highly
 figurative, and often so sublime, as to transcend
 the common liberties of speech. Thus he speaks
 of *Antiquity in its public capacity*, meaning, I sup-
 pose, the civil states of Greece and Rome; tho’
 in the mode of ordinary language it would be no
 inelegant periphrasis for the NEW INCORPORATED
 SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES: again he talks of the
nativity of persecution, and of its being a native of
 Spain; and yet he seems not to mean, as you would
 fancy, its *birth*, but its *education*. For he tells
 us ^b it was *born* long before, in Egypt; where it

^a Page 579, 580.

^b Page 583.

occasioned, what he calls, their *holy wars*; which by his own account were *persecutions for difference of belief alone*. However, as this Egyptian intrigue was but a *miscarriage*, and a kind of coming before its time, he forces it to enter again into the womb of Fate, and to be born, we see, a second time for the honour of Christianity. Since then, our Critic's figures are so new, and of so transcendent a kind, why may we not suppose that, the *giving an edge to persecution*, may signify the *giving a sword* to it, and then all will be right.

—The professors of Christianity (says he) *had no reason to be apprehensive of any severities upon the score of Religion*.—The more fools they; when their Master had pointed out so many. If they *had no reason*, it must be because *no reason* would make an impression. For they were frequently reminded by him, of what they were to suffer, not indeed for assembling in the night-time, but *for his NAME SAKE, and because of the WORD^c*. St. Paul too had expressly assured the churches, that *all who live godly in Jesus Christ shall suffer persecution^d*. But where was the wonder, that they, who paid so little attention to their Master, should pay still less to their Fellow-servant?

—Hear me out, however, cries our learned Critic: I affirm that *the professors of Christianity had no reason to be apprehensive of any severities upon the score of Religion, ANY MORE than the professors of any other sect or religion besides*. On my word, he has mended matters greatly! What, had the *professors of other sects or religions* any PROPHESIES OR REVELATIONS of *severities upon the score of religion*?

^c MATTH. xiii. 21.

^d 2 TIM. iii. 12.

But, from this essential difference in the *external* circumstances of these two sets of *Professors*, the Pagan and the Christian, we will turn to the *internal*: And, under this head, let me ask another question. The *Professors* of the faith held it to be unlawful, and a deadly sin, to have *communion or fellowship* with the Gods of the Heathen. But had the *Professors* of Idolatry any of these scruples, or did they hold any thing analogous to them? On the contrary, did not the *Professors* of Gaul, of Greece, of Asia, and of Egypt, join heartily with the *Professors* of Rome, to pay all due honours to the established religion? while those masters of the world, as heartily joined communion with these strangers: nay, were ready to do the same honours to the Gospel, had they found the same disposition towards mutual civilities, among its followers.

And was this so trifling a difference as to deserve no notice either of the Critic or the Civilian? Had the Christians, who damned Paganism in the lump, and reprobated the established religion of Rome, as the work of evil demons and evil men, *no more reason to be apprehensive of any severities from this antiquity in its public capacity, than the professors of any other religion besides*, all of which not only acknowledged the Gods of Rome, but, to make good weight, added Rome itself to the number of her Divinities? This *public capacited antiquity* must have been of an odd paste, and strangely composed, to use those, who attempted the destruction of its Gods, in the same gentle way it treated those who revered and honoured them.

But, as this *public capacited antiquity*, is, after all, no more than a phantom, and owes its nativity

to our Critic's brain, it is no wonder, it should have something of the perversity of its parent; who searching for the CAUSE of Persecution, could not find it in a circumstance in which idolatry and christianity *differed*, namely, *exclusive worship*, a principle most abhorred by paganism; and yet can see it in a circumstance where both agreed, namely, *nocturnal worship*, a practice most venerated by paganism.

But *antiquity* (says he) *in its public capacity was generally very indulgent to all who dissented from the established worship*. This, he had many ways of learning: but the *cause* of the indulgence, if it be yet unknown to him, he will owe to the author of the D. L. who hath shewn that it was entirely owing to the *absurdity* of its religious systems, just as the want of this indulgence, under Christianity, was occasioned by the *reasonableness* of its system, unreasonably indeed inforced upon the mistaken principles of Judaism. So that the indulgence of Paganism had continued to this day, had not Christianity come boisterously in, and broken the peace. Then arose an exception, unfavourable to the new Comer: For why was the established religion so indulgent to every strange sect, but because every strange sect was as indulgent to the established? So that, in this commerce of mutual civilities, while the national worship enjoyed the civil rights of an Establishment, it was content, the Stranger should still possess the natural rights of a Toleration. But all this good harmony, the Christian faith disturbed and violated. It condemned paganism in the gross, whether *established* or *to'erated*: and, under pain of damnation, required all men, both Greeks and Barbarians, to forsake their ancient absurdities, and profess their
faith

faith in a crucified Saviour. A circumstance, sufficient, one would think, without *nocturnal assemblies*, to sour this sweet-temper'd *Antiquity in its public capacity*.

But he goes on—*Persecution for DIFFERENCE OF BELIEF ALONE owes its nativity to more modern ages; and Spain was its country, where Priscillian, by some, is held to be the first sufferer for mere opinion.*

Here we have another cast of his office. The question between us, is, “Whether the Christians “were first persecuted for their *faith in general*, “or for their *nocturnal assemblies*.” I hold the former; he contends for the latter: and to confute my opinion, observes “that *persecution for DIFFERENCE of belief alone*, was of later date, and “began with Priscillian:” That is, persecution for *MODES OF FAITH* began at that time. Well, and if it did, what then? What is this to the dispute between us? I never held, because Jesus and his apostles never foretold, that the first Christians should be persecuted by the Pagans for *modes of Faith*; but on the contrary, for the very *genius of that Faith*, so opposite to the idolatrous world.

Paganism had no dogmatic theology, or, what we call, *Religion*: and not having the thing, it was no wonder they had not the word: neither the Greeks nor Romans, with all their abundance, had a word for that moral mode: the latin word, *Religio*, when it comes nearest to it, signifies only a *set of ceremonies*. However tho’ they were without a dogmatic theology, yet they had their general principles; but these principles regarded *utility* rather than *truth*; the chief of which was that of

intercommunity; which, the principle of Christianity directly opposing, they rose against this principle, and so began a persecution. Pagans therefore, having no *modes of faith*, could not persecute for any: but Christians, who had, might and did persecute for them.

Again, when the persecution is for *modes of faith*, their truth or falsehood comes in question: when, for the *common genius of a religion*, its harmlessness or malignity is the only matter of inquiry. Now the pagan persecutors were so far from regarding Christianity as a false religion, that they were ready^e, according to their *general indulgence to all who dissented from the established worship*, to put the professors of the Faith on a footing with other foreign sects: but this would not serve their turn. The Christians believed their Religion to be the only true; and therefore, that it should be the only one professed. This PARADOX brought on persecution. But for what? not for the profession of a *falsehood*; but for a practiced *hatred to the whole race of mankind*.

Here then we find, the learned Critic has shuffled in one question for another; and again put the change upon his reader; and perhaps, upon himself.

But to let his *reasoning* pass, and come to his *fact*; which, as a Critic, he is much more con-

^e Cæcilius, the Pagan, in Minucius Felix, draws the following extraordinary character of the genius of the Roman Religion—*dum obsessi, et citra solum capitolium capti, colunt deos, quos alius jam sprevisset iratos—dum captis hostilibus mœnibus, adhuc ferociente victoria, numina victa venerantur: dum undique hospites deos quærunt, et suos faciunt: dum aras extruunt etiam ignotis numinibus et manibus. Sic dum universarum gentium sacra suscipiunt, etiam regna meruerunt.*

cerned, in honour, to support.—*Priscillian*, (it seems) *was the first sufferer for mere opinion*. But how shall we reconcile him to himself in this matter? for as he goes on to display his learning, he unluckily discovers a much earlier original of *persecution for mere opinion* than that of the *first sufferer, Priscillian*: This was in the *holy wars* (as he calls them) of the idolatrous Egyptians^f: which, according to his own account, were *persecutions for difference of belief alone*. Here then we stick, between *the first*, and *the first of all*;—but not long. He has a fetch to bring us off. “This *holy war* was indeed *persecution* in the Egyptians, who dealt and felt the blows; but it was still *toleration*, and civil policy in those, who set them together by the ears: for it was a standing maxim with the Romans to support and encourage in the subdued Provinces, a *variety* in religious worship; which occasioning *holy wars*, the parties concerned to carry them on with proper decency and zeal, had work enough cut out for them, without forming plots and conspiracies against their Masters.” Thus, altho’, in these *tools* the Egyptians, the *holy war* might be persecution for opinions, yet in the *workmen*, who put it to use, it was an engine of state. *The Egyptian superstition* (says our learned Civilian) *was rather an engine of state*. Rather than what?—than persecution. How so, when superstition made them persecute? No matter for that. It was under the direction of their Masters: and in their hands it was an *engine of state*. It is pity that so great a politician as our Chancellor had not still, like his predecessors the Chancellors of old, a patent for making these *engines*. We know of One who has long lived upon this trade: and an example

of his management may set our Chancellor's political refinement in a true light. The *Roman Conclave* succeeded to the *Roman Senate* in this engineering work : and the later *holy wars in Egypt* carried on by their fainted Kings and their imperious Saints, were contrived and fomented by the *Roman Church*, as before by the *Roman State* to divert the subject nations from quarreling with the sacred See.—But what then? If a spirit of Policy projected it, was it not a spirit of Superstition that put it in hand? And the point our learned Civilian is debating, tho' only with himself, is the spirit of *Pagan Religion*, not the spirit of *Roman Policy*. Now surely it is a terrible breach in the general indulgence of paganism, even as he states it, to find *holy wars* amongst them *for difference of belief alone* ; a species of persecution which, in another place, he expressly tells us, *owed its nativity to modern ages*.

To say the truth, *Persecution* is one of the wickedest imps of Hell, and capable of any mischief: but who would have suspected it of this trick, plaid as it were, in its mother's belly ; so long before its NATIVITY ; and while yet it had scarce got a *human* being? But the adventure was, in all respects, extraordinary ; and well deserving the pen of our illustrious Historian.

Seriously, He seems much better fitted, whether as Critic or Civilian, to manage the intrigues of the Greek and Roman Alphabets, (whose Revolutions make so shining a figure in this splendid Dissertation on the *Bacchanals*) than to develop the policy of Empires, or to adjust the rights of civil and religious Societies.

But it is now time to shew, that his hypothesis has as little support from *reason* as from *fact*: and that *nocturnal assemblies* neither DID, nor, on our Critic's own principles, possibly COULD, give birth to Persecution, even tho' these assemblies had preceded all *interruptions of the civil power*.

While the common opinion remained undisputed, that nocturnal assemblies were held to avoid persecution, all men saw a sufficient reason for their practice. But since we have been told, that they *preceded* persecution, and were the *cause* of it, we are utterly at a loss to account for so extraordinary a mode of worship in the immediate followers of Christ. For the original of *nocturnal assemblies* being now, CHOICE, not NECESSITY, they must be resolved into one or other of these causes,——

1. Either because *true Christianity* hath mysterious rites, proper to be celebrated in the night-time, like the pagan Orgies:

2. Or that the *first propagators* of the Faith affected to imitate the dark and enigmatic genius of Paganism.

3. Or that *their followers* were a set of gloomy Fanatics, who delighted in the horrors of a midnight season.

4. Or lastly, that, like the BACCHANALS (whose story gave birth to this new hypothesis) they had some very debauched and licentious practices to conceal, whose celebration was only adapted to the obscenities of night and darkness.

Now, of all these causes, our learned Critic, as a Dispenser of the doctrine, and a Minister of the discipline of the church, can admit only the *second*. He is too well instructed in the nature of Christian Religion to allow the *first*; and he has too great a regard for the honour of its early Professors, to suppose it possible to be the *third* or *fourth*.

He must needs conclude, therefore, that the primitive Christians went voluntarily into this practice, in imitation of the mysterious rites of Paganism. On a presumption of the truth of this fact, he must build his hypothesis—*It may be asked* (says he) *in that almost universal licence or toleration, which the Ancients, the Romans particularly, extended to the professors of all Religions whatsoever, why the Christian profession alone, which might have expected a favourable treatment, seems to stand exempted, and frequently felt the severity of the bitterest persecution?*—Having asked this, he very magisterially solves the riddle: *They met* (says he) *with molestations from that quarter, BECAUSE their assemblies were nocturnal.*

What, now, would be the first reflection of a reader, unacquainted with Greece and Rome? Would he not conclude, that *nocturnal assemblies* for religious worship were, till now, unknown in paganism, and regarded as a prodigy, to be expiated only by capital punishments? He would never conceive that *mysterious* and *nocturnal* Rites were the most venerable and sacred part of their worship. But when he is told that these Christian Assemblies were in imitation of the most favorite practices of gentilism, and to conciliate the world's good will, he will be lost in wonder, that a modern Critic should pretend to know better what would appease

appease or irritate the Pagans than the primitive Church did, which had the best opportunities of distinguishing in these matters, and was most concerned not to be mistaken. He will tell our Critic, that if he really aims at the solution of what he calls a difficulty, he should seek for a *cause* as uncommon and singular as the *effect*. The EFFECT, *religious persecution*, our Critic himself tells us was a thing almost unknown to the pagan world: but the CAUSE, *nocturnal assemblies*, was as common and as extensive as idolatry itself.

— All the various Religions of Paganism, were ever attended with *mysterious* rites, which (to keep up a veneration for the worship, and to create a sacred horror in the Participant) were generally celebrated in the *night*. But as this afforded opportunities of private enormities, as well as of danger to the State, the laws of the best governed countries, such as Greece, required that foreign Religions, which celebrated such rites, should have the previous licence of the magistrate. Hence we find, that, by a *Law of the twelve tables*, (an institute composed chiefly from the Grecian laws) clandestine assemblies held in the night were punished with death. In course of time, as superstition abounded, this law was but little observed: for in the 566th year of Rome some spurious rites of Bacchus had crept out of Greece, and insinuated themselves into the city; where being celebrated by night, without the knowledge or licence of the Magistrate, they presently suffered an abominable corruption^s. On discovery, they were abolished; and fresh vigour given to the *law of the twelve tables*, by a new regulation for celebrating of noc-

^s See Div. Leg. book ii. sect. 6.

turnal worship. So cautious and tender was the Magistrate, (even under this horrid provocation) of violating the rights of Religion in this capital point of *mysterious* worship : nor did the heat of reformation, carry him to impinge upon any other of the nocturnal Rites, then celebrated in Rome ; such as the Mysteries of the *Bona Dea*.

Greece and Asia had been long famous for the celebration of this kind of rites : which, Rome, now masters of the east, brought home with them ; together with the other ARTS of Greece, of which, Cicero ^h reckons these of the MYSTERIES in the first class. And thus things continued in respect to these rites, throughout the whole Roman Empire, down even to the time of Valentinian ; who, out of zeal for Christianity, published an edict to abolish the most famous of them all, the ELEUSINIAN. But he was diverted from his purpose by his prudent minister, Prætextatus ; who assured him, that it would drive Greece and Asia to despair, and endanger the peace of the Empire ⁱ.

Such was the state and condition of *nocturnal assemblies* in the pagan world : They were of the earliest original ; of the most venerable use ; and practised with the fondest attachment. In the very centre, and during the full celebrity, of these Rites, the Christian church arose : which, if you will believe our Critic, went into them with as much spirit and attention as any Gentile Community of them all. When, strange to tell ! the Genius of Paganism, so indulgent to new forms of Religion, (every one of which had their *Mysteries*, and most

^h *De Legg.*

ⁱ *Zosim. l. iv.*

of them their *nocturnal assemblies*) all of a sudden turned tail, and fell foul upon this rising Sect, for a circumstance common to all, and in a time of full peace and security.

What could occasion so unexpected a reception? Was it any disgust the PEOPLE had entertained to this Christian rite? (for, indeed, on their passions, the Magistrate is generally obliged to square his administration.) This could not be; for the People, (every where the same) are rarely offended, in religious matters, but with novelties. What is of common use they receive with indifference; often with a favourable prejudice. Our Critic confounds the nature and order of things, to make Paganism passive and unprovoked at a Principle which subverted the whole system of their religion, namely the UNSOCIABILITY of the Christian Faith; and yet mortally offended with a practice the most sacred and universal in Paganism, namely MYSTERIOUS AND NOCTURNAL RITES.

But it will be said, “Some jealousy entertained of this way of worship, by the MAGISTRATE, might occasion that fiery inquisition: Nocturnal assemblies had been abused, and therefore it became him to be very attentive to every new institution of the like kind.” Here our Critic will appeal to his *Bacchanalian rites*: and, indeed, it seems to have been this detestable Mummery which first put the fancy into his head. But this abuse was a single, temporary thing, and had been long forgotten. Nocturnal assemblies had since that time been practised, for many ages, without jealousy. Cicero, indeed, in an ideal Utopia^k, had declared against

^k *De Legg.*

them : but he brings them in, apparently for no other purpose than to stigmatize his mortal enemy Clodius. And, what is remarkable, he gives not the least intimation that the abuses of nocturnal assemblies had ever been so general as to keep alive the attention or jealousy of the Magistrate: Particulars had now and then perverted them to the gratification of their lusts ; and for this, (for want of better evidence) he appeals to the comic poets of Greece, where indeed, some of the Mysteries appear to have undergone a shameful corruption.

However, let us suppose the state of Rome to be as delicate on this point as our Critic's hypothesis requires it to be : Their circumspection could never go further than to regulate or to reform these Assemblies : it could never proceed to the suppression or abolition of them, because, nocturnal meetings made an essential part of their own worship.

It is probable, indeed, that those ridiculous calumnies of the Vulgar, concerning the immoralities committed in the nocturnal assemblies of the Christians, might reach the ears of the Magistrate : But if he attended to them, would he not begin his inquiry by examining into the truth of them, as he had done in the case of the *Bacchanalian rites* ? and when he found them as innocent as Pliny the Younger, on a like examination, reports them to have been, would not the search have ended here ; and a share of that universal toleration, which he afforded to others, been imparted to them likewise ?

Our Critic may perhaps say, that these Christians were such lovers of a secret, that they would
not

not reveal the nature of their rites to the Pagan Magistrate, though it were to entitle them to his protection. Should he say this, he would forget the principles I have now forced him to go upon, which will allow no other reason of the first Christians' falling into this practice, than to conciliate the good will of their Pagan neighbours.

Well but "there might be some idolatrous Test required to qualify the Church for its share in this toleration of nocturnal worship; and, for non-compliance with the condition, (he may tell us) the persecution began." It is, indeed, likely enough that such a Test was required; and most probably it consisted in their approbation of the principle of *intercommunity*; if not in words, yet at least in deeds; such as throwing a grain or two of incense on the Pagan altars. But then the mischief of this evasion is, that it brings us round again to the place from whence the learned Critic set out, when he turned his back upon the reason given in the *Div. Leg.* for toleration, and would needs seek a better in *nocturnal assemblies*.

Hitherto we cannot conceive how a persecution could so much as *begin*, from the cause our Critic has assigned. But let us, for argument's sake, suppose, that the Magistrate, out of mere caprice (for we have shewn he could have no reason) and in the plenitude of his power, would forbid the Christians their *nocturnal assemblies*, while he allowed the privilege to all besides: Even in this case, his persecution must end almost as soon as it was begun: it is impossible, on our Critic's own principles, that it should have any continuance: for, as the *choice* of nocturnal assemblies was only to reconcile Paganism to Christianity, when they
found

found their neighbours receive these advances so ungraciously, they would soon remove the occasion of offence; in which they would be quickened by their knowledge of the *rights of the Sovereign*, to whom, in things indifferent, they had been told, all obedience was due.

Thus the matter being turned on all sides, we find that no persecution whatever could follow from that *cause*, which our learned Civilian has assigned for the whole TEN.

But it being certain, that persecuted they were; and as certain, that our Civilian will admit of no other cause than what he himself has given, namely their *nocturnal assemblies*: Let us for once suppose him to be in the right; and then consider the consequences which will arise from it. When we have done this, we shall have done his System full justice; and the reader, with sufficient knowledge of the case, may take or reject it as he finds himself inclined.

HYPOTHESIS's are often very plausible, and much oftener very flattering things. You shall have of these, so fair and promising, that an honest reader shall be tempted to wish them, and, from wishing, to think them, true. But this, before us, is, by no means in the number of those specious visions.

I seriously believe it would be doing our Chancellor great injustice to suppose he had any other view in this notable discovery than to do honour to the Christian name: much less should we suspect that he had any formed design of traducing it. Yet it is very certain, that neither COLLINS nor

TINDAL

TINDAL could have formed a project more injurious to the reputation of primitive Christianity, than to prove, what is the aim of this learned Critic, that THE FIRST CHRISTIANS WERE PERSECUTED FOR HOLDING THEIR ASSEMBLIES IN THE NIGHT TIME. For it inevitably follows, that these early professors of the Faith were either wild FANATICS or abandoned LIBERTINES: and consequently, that the pagan Magistrate did but his duty in enforcing, what the Church has been so long accustomed to call, a *cruel and unjust persecution*.

Before the conception of this new fancy, it was universally supposed, that the primitive Christians *assembled in the night-time to avoid the interruptions of the civil power*. This our Critic assures us is a mistake. It is NOT TRUE (says he) *but the converse of the proposition is true* IN THE UTMOST LATITUDE, *viz. that they met with molestation from the civil power* BECAUSE *their assemblies were nocturnal*.

While the common opinion prevailed, these *nocturnal Assemblies*, recorded in ancient church-history, gave as little scandal to the Pagans of our times, as indeed they did to the Pagans of their own. But when this opinion is given up for the sake of its CONVERSE, we shall be utterly at a loss to account, to our irreligious Inquisitors, for so extraordinary a CHOICE in the immediate followers of Christ.

It hath been shewn above, that these voluntary Assemblies could be occasioned only by one or other of these causes—either that the Christian religion hath *Mysteries*, like the Pagan, which re-

quired nocturnal celebrations—or that the first preachers of Christianity affected to imitate the practices of Paganism—or that they were Fanatics, and delighted in the horrors of a midnight season—or lastly, that, like the debauched Bacchanals, they had some very licentious Rites to be performed only in the dark.

Our Critic's religious principles will not allow him to admit of any of these causes but the *second*. And I shew that, from the *second*, no persecution could arise, or, at least, could continue. This, on a supposition that the Christians affected to imitate pagan observances. But it is a supposition which contradicts fact, and violates the nature of things. The history of the infant-church informs us, that the first Propagators of the Faith were most averse to every thing which bore a shew of conformity to Paganism. They could not but be so, for their Religion rose out of Judaism, which breathes nothing but opposition to Idolatry.

In course of time, indeed, when pious zeal, by growing over-heated, became less pure; when love of pomp and shew, (which is natural to men busied in the external offices of Religion) and the affectation of importance (which is as natural to those who preside in them) had spread their leprosy through the Church, the Ministers of the Gospel would be fatally tempted to rival the magnificence, and to ape the mysterious air of Paganism. And the obliquities, which led them into these follies, they would strive to palliate or disguise by a pretended impatience for the speedier extension of the Faith. I have shewn, from Casaubon, how this corrupt conduct infected all the language of Theology.

logy¹. But this was some ages after the times in question.

Our Critic may perhaps tell us, it was accident or whim which drew together the first Christians into dark corners; and as the *evening and the morning made the first day* of the old Creation, so it was to make *the first day* of the new: And thus *Night*, by her proper Usher, *Chance*, became once again reinstated in her ancient honours.

But this will stand him in small stead. He has not only to account for the first threatenings of Persecution, but for the Act; and, what is still more, for the continuance of it. Now, what the Christians fell into with so little reason they would certainly forsake on the appearance of so great, as the displeasure of the Magistrate, and the crime and danger of disobeying lawful Authority. It is possible, indeed, that, in the heat of Persecution, some over zealous men might mistake their noncompliance with such commands as a necessary mark of their open profession of the Faith. But this was not generally the case: Their common practice was *to give to Cæsar the things which were Cæsar's; and to God, the things which were God's*: Of this, we have sufficient evidence in the famous letter of Pliny the younger, before quoted. Trajan had forbidden the assemblies called *Hetæriæ*, which succeeded those of public worship, and were used by the Christians of Bithynia, to confirm and bind them to one another in the practice of virtue, by the external badge or ceremony of *breaking bread*: and we are assured by this vigilant Magistrate, that the Chris-

¹ *Div. Leg.* vol. i. p. 200. part 1. 4th ed.

tians, under his jurisdiction, obeyed the imperial Edict^m.

From all this Letter it appears, that the only *causes*, which, on our Critic's principles, could possibly bring on and continue persecution, (if persecution arose from nocturnal or clandestine assemblies) must be either FANATICISM OR DEBAUCHED PRACTICES: in the first case, their obstinacy would make them persist; in the other, their libertinage. To these agreeable conclusions, have our learned Civilian's principles reduced us for a solution of our difficulties: and such is the flattering picture, he has exhibited of primitive Christianity. Could its most inveterate enemies desire more! or, if its friends should give credit to these fancies, would its enemies be content with less? Such are the disgraces which this *converse proposition* is ready to bring upon Christianity: disgraces of so complicated a stain, as not simply to dishonour our holy Faith, but even to justify the powers of Paganism in all the violences they offered to it. For the Magistrate had a right to suppress the clandestine meetings of Fanaticism and Debauchery.

But our Enemies will have no need to fly to *consequences* for the discharge of the pagan Magistrates; our Christian Chancellor himself proceeds directly to their acquittal. He frankly tells us, that their duty, as Magistrates, required them to animadvert on *nocturnal assemblies*, where they

^m — quod essent soliti statō die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo, quasi Deo, dicere, &c. — quibus peractis morem sibi discedendi fuisse, rursusque coeundi ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen & innoxium: quod ipsum facere desuisse post edictum meum, quo secundum mandata tua hetærias esse vetueram. lib. x. ep. 97.

bound themselves to one another, and employed the word SACRAMENTUM for a kind of tesseræ of union; the very appearance of guilt which had occasioned the *decree* against the infamous rites of Bacchus.

You will say, this is horrid, to make the Magistrate prosecute the primitive Christians by the same provision which obliged him to exterminate those monsters of society! But who can help it? Our Chancellor had but this one precedent for the prosecution of *nocturnal assemblies*; and if it be not the most honourable support of his hypothesis it is not his fault.

But there was no proof (you will say) against the Christian, as there was against those Bacchanalian assemblies. What of that? Our Chancellor opines, that mere suspicion, in so delicate an affair, was sufficient to acquit the Magistrate of blame: nay, to make his conduct, in his care and jealousy for the State, very commendable. You shall have his own words. *A jealous Governor therefore, and a stranger to the true principles of Christianity, was naturally open to such impressions; and COULD NOT BUT exert that caution and attention which the practice of their Country so warmly recommended*ⁿ. Could Cicero himself have been more warm, not to say more eloquent, in defending the Decree which dispersed the profligate crew of Bacchanals?

And now a very capital point of Ecclesiastical history is cleared up and settled. “The Ten Persecutions were begun and carried on, not, as

ⁿ Page 579.

had been hitherto supposed, upon the score of Religion, or mere opinion, but against bad Subjects, or, at least, against those who were reasonably suspected of being such." And this is given to us by the learned Critic as the true defence of free and generous Antiquity, IN ITS PUBLIC CAPACITY: just as in free Britain, (where, indeed, we now find small difference, as to freedom, between its *public* and its *private capacity*, except to the advantage of the latter) when Papists complain of the penal laws, we reply, They are not enforced against erroneous Religionists, but against refractory Subjects, for refusing the Magistrate the common security for obedience. — There is indeed a difference; our answer to the Papists is a serious truth, and our Critic's apology for the pagan Persecutors, an idle and ridiculous fiction.

But as if he had not yet done enough for his beloved Antiquity, in thus blanching its TEN PERSECUTIONS; he goes on to clear it from the opprobrium of persecution in general; by charging the original of this diabolic practice on the Christian Church; where indeed, the Freethinkers had very confidently placed it, till the Author of the D. L. restored it to its right owner, the Pagan Magistrate. — PERSECUTION FOR DIFFERENCE OF BELIEF ALONE (says our learned Civilian) OWES ITS NATIVITY TO MORE MODERN AGES; *and Spain was its country; where Priscillian, by some, is held to be the first sufferer for MERE OPINION.*

Thus the whole blame of PERSECUTION for Religion is thrown from the Gentile Persecutors, upon the suffering Church: And Christianity, or for its follies or its crimes, (as either insulting civil Society by its obstinacy, or polluting it by its vices) stands
covered

covered with confusion. So happy an Advocate has our learned Civilian approved himself for the Cause to which, by a double tye, he had devoted and engaged his ministry.—

The length of these animadversions hindered them from finding a place in the body of this volume, amongst other things of the like sort. Except for this, he had no claim to be distinguished from his fellows. I had a large choice before me : for who has not signalized himself against the DIVINE LEGATION? Bigots, Hutchinsonians, Methodists, Answerers, Freethinkers, and Fanatics, have in their turns been all up in arms against it. Quid dicam? (to use the words of an honest man in the same circumstances) Commune fere hoc eorum fatum est, quorum opera supremum Numen uti vult in Ecclesia, ut MATURE *insidiis, accusationibus et criminationibus* appetantur. The scene was opened by a false Zealot, and at present seems likely to be closed by a true Behmenist°. A natural and easy progress, from knavery to madness, where the Imposture fails ; as the progress is from madness to knavery, where it succeeds. It was now time to settle my accounts with them. To this end I applied to a learned person, who, in consideration of our friendship, hath been prevailed upon to undergo the drudgery of turning over this dirty heap, and marking what he imagined would in the least deserve, or could justify any notice : for I would not have the reader conceive so miserably of me as to think I was ever disposed to look into them myself. He will find, as he goes along, both in the text and the notes, what was thought least unworthy of an answer. Nor let it give him

° Rev. Mr. William Law.

too much scandal that, in a work which I have now put into as good a condition for him as I was able, I have revived the memory of the numerous and gross absurdities of these writers, part of whom are dead, and the rest forgotten: For he will consider, that it may prove an useful barrier to the return of the like follies, in after times, against more successful Inquirers into Truth. The seeds of Folly, as well as Wit, are connate with the mind: and when, at any time, the teeming intellect gives promise of an unexpected harvest, the trash starts up with it, and is ever forward to wind itself about rising Truth, and hinder its progress to maturity. Were it not for this, I should refer the candid reader to what I take to be the best defence and support of the ARGUMENT OF THE DIVINE LEGATION, the succinct view of the whole and of all its parts, which he will find at the conclusion of the last of these Volumes. For as Lord Verulam says excellently well, THE HARMONY OF A SCIENCE, SUPPORTING EACH PART THE OTHER, IS, AND OUGHT TO BE, THE TRUE AND BRIEF CONFUTATION AND SUPPRESSION OF ALL THE SMALLER SORTS OF OBJECTIONS.

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BOOK IV.

SECT. I.

THE foregoing volume hath occasionally, and in the course of my main argument, shewn the reader, that it was always the practice of mankind to listen to, and embrace some pretended REVELATION; in neglect of what is called, in contradistinction to it, the RELIGION OF NATURE; that, I mean, which is only founded on our relation to the first Cause; and deducible from the eternal reason of things^a.

^a Σὺ δὲ τὸν λόγον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀναλαβὼν τῆς δεισιδαίμονος πλάνης, ἐπίσκειψαι τὴν διάπλωσιν. φύσει μὲν ἔν κ' αὐτοδιδάκτοις ἐννοίαις, μᾶλλον δὲ θεοδιδάκτοις, καλόν τι κ' ὠφέλιμον τυγχάνειν, τὸ σημαῖνον τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ προσηγορίαν τε κ' ἐσίαν. πάντες γὰρ ἄνθρωποι κοινοῖς λογισμοῖς προειλήφουσιν, τὴν τῶν ὅλων Δημιουργίαν, τὴν τοῦ κόσμου λογικὴν κ' νοεράν ψυχὴν, φυσικαῖς ἐννοίαις ὑποσπεύραντες. ἢ μὲν κ' τῇ προαιρέσει τῇ κατὰ λόγον ἐκέχρηστο. Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* l. ii. c. 6.

If ever a general propensity might be called a dictate of Nature, this surely may. That such a propensity there is, the Deist, or pretended follower of *natural Religion*, freely confesseth; nay, is forward to insist upon, as a circumstance of discredit to those *Revelations*, which we receive for true. Yet surely, of all his visionary advantages, none ever afforded him less cause of triumph; a consequence flowing from it, which is entirely subversive of his whole scheme.

For let me ask such a one, What could be the cause of so universal a *propensity* in all ages, places, and people? But before he answer, let him see that he be able to distinguish between the causes which the Few had in giving, and the Many in receiving, pretended Revelations. The causes for projecting and giving are explained at large in the former volume; where it is shewn, that all the pretended Revelations, but real corruptions of religion, came from Princes and Lawgivers. It is true, he hath been taught otherwise. His instructors, the Tolands and Tindals of the time, assure him, that all came from the PRIESTS; and I suppose they spoke what they believed: It might be so for any thing they knew.

My question then is, What could induce Mankind to embrace these offered Revelations, unless it were,

1. Either a CONSCIOUSNESS that they wanted a revealed Will for the rule of their actions; or,
2. An old TRADITION that God had vouchsafed it to their forefathers?

One can hardly conceive any thing else; for a general effect must have as general a cause: which, in this case, is only to be found in the *nature* of man; or in a *tradition* preserved in the whole race. Prince-craft or priest-craft might indeed offer them, for their own private ends: but nothing short of a common inducement could dispose mankind to accept them.

I. As to the consciousness of the want of a Revelation, that may fairly be inferred from the miserable blindness of our condition: And he who wants to be informed of this, should consult Antiquity; or, what may be more for his ease, those modern writers, who, for no very good ends, but yet to a very good issue, have drawn such lively pictures of it, from thence. But without going even so far, he may find, in the very disposition to receive such absurd schemes of religion as Revelations from heaven, more than a thousand other arguments to prove men ignorant of the first principles of natural religion; a very moderate knowledge of which would have certainly detected the imposture of those pretences. But now, men so totally at a loss for a rule of life, would greedily embrace any direction that came with pretended credentials from heaven.

If we turn to the Few, the wise and learned amongst them, we shall find the case still more desperate. In religious matters, these were blinder even than the People; and in proportion too, as they were less conscious of their ignorance. The most advanced in the knowledge of human nature and its dependencies, were, without question, the ancient Sages of Greece. Of these, the wisest, and far the wisest, was SOCRATES; for he saw and confessed his ignorance, and deplored the want of a
B 2 superior

superior direction. For the rest, who *thought themselves wise*, and appeared not so sensibly to feel their wants, we have shewn at large^b, how they *became Fools*; and, debauched by false science, affected the language of Gods before they had well emancipated themselves from the condition of brutes^c. The two great supports of natural religion, in the world at large, are the belief of a FUTURE STATE, and the knowledge of MORAL OBLIGATION. The first was rejected by all; and the true ground of the second was understood by none: The honour of this discovery was reserved for Revelation, which teacheth us, in spite of unwilling hearers, that *the real ground of moral obligation is the will of God*.

2. There only remains that other possible cause, *the general tradition of God's early revelation of his will to mankind*, as delivered in Scripture. I, for my part, suppose both concerned in the effect; and that that state of mind which disposed men to so ready and general a reception of these numerous impostures, was the result of the consciousness of their wants, joined to the prejudice of Tradition. If the Deist allow Tradition, he gives up the question; if he acknowledges our wants, he affords a strong presumption, in favour of Revelation.

For if man (let the cause proceed from what it will) be so irrecoverably blind and helpless, it is highly reasonable to think that infinite goodness would lead and enlighten him by an extraordinary revelation of his will.

^b Book iii. sect. 2, 3, 4, and 5.

^c The Stoics, who thought the soul mortal, yet reckoned their *wise man* equal, or superior, to the gods.

Sect. I. of MOSES demonstrated. 5

But here, Tindal objects, “ That this blindness is men’s own fault, who, instead of improving their reason, and following its dictates, which would lead them into all truth, (our own Scriptures assuring us, that *that which may be known of God is manifest in them; for God hath shewed it unto them*^d) go on like beasts, and follow one another as they are led or driven.”

To this I answer, that what had been the lot of man from the beginning of the world to the birth of CHRIST, was like to continue so to the end of it. A deviation springing from no partial cause of climate, government, or age; but the sad effect of human weakness in the circumstance of our earthly situation.—By the fault of man it is true; but such a fault as, it is seen by long experience, man could never remedy. He therefore flies to Heaven for relief; and seems to have reason for his confidence.

But to this, our *man of morals* has a reply at hand; “ That if such be our condition, it may indeed want redress; but then, a Revelation will not render the cure lasting.” And for this he appeals to the corrupt state of the Christian world; which, in his opinion, seems to demand a new Revelation, to restore the virtue and efficacy of the old.

But let me tell this vain Rationalist, There is an extreme difference between the corruption of the Pagan and the Christian world. In the Pagan, where false Revelations had given men wrong ideas of the attributes of the Deity, they must of course,

^d Rom. i. 19, 20.

and did in fact, act viciously UPON PRINCIPLE^c; a condition of blindness which seemed to call out on God's goodness for a remedy: but in the Christian world, for the very contrary reason, all wicked men act ill AGAINST PRINCIPLE; a condition of perverseness which seems to call out for nothing but his justice: God, according to the state of the case, having done every thing that man, with all his presumption, can pretend to expect from the goodness of his Maker.

So far on the Deist's own principles; on his own false notion that God's Revelation is represented in Scripture to be merely a *republication of the religion of nature*. For, as such he has presumed to comment on it; and as such, in excess of complaisance, we believers have generally thought fit to receive it. But I shall, ere long, shew it to be a very different thing: and, from its true nature, prove not only (as here) the *use* of Revelation, but likewise the absolute *necessity* of it, to mankind. I shall shew that what our adversaries suppose the only, was but the secondary end of the two Revelations; that what

^c See *Div. Leg.* p. 147,—8. vol. i. edit. 2^d.—Τὴν φύσιν θνητῆς καὶ ἀνθρωπίνης κεχρημένης συμφορᾶς, ὡς ἀγαθῶν χορηγὸς, σωτῆρας καὶ θεὸς ἀναγορεύειν, τὴν σεβασμιὸν ἔννοιαν φυσικῶς αὐτοῖς ἐνυπαίρχουσαν, ἐφ' ᾗ ἐνόμιζον εὐεργέτας μελαθεικότες. τοσαύτη δ' ἄρα συνεῖχε αὐτὰς φρενῶν ἀποπληξία, ὡς μηδὲν τῶν πλημμελεσμένων τοῖς θεολογούμενοις ὑπολογίζεσθαι, μηδ' ἐρυθρίαν ἐπὶ τοῖς αἰσχυρῶς περὶ αὐτῶν φημιζομένοις, τὰ πάντα δὲ τῶς ἀνδρᾶς διὰ τὰς παρ' αὐτῶν παρεχομένας ὠφελείας, ἢ καὶ διὰ τὰς τότε πρῶτον συνιστάμενας δυνατείας τε καὶ τυραννίδας ἀποθαυμάζειν. νόμων γὰρ, ὥσπερ ἔφην, ἤδη πρότερον μηδέπω τότε ἐν ἀνθρώποις πολιτευομένων, μηδ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀμαρτανουμένοις ἀμαρτίας [τιμωρίας] ἀπὸρημένης, μοιχείας καὶ ἀρξένων φθορᾶς, ἐκθέσμευς τε καὶ παρὰ νόμους γάμους, μισαιφονίας τε καὶ παύροκλονίας, τέκνων τε καὶ ἀδελφῶν σφαγᾶς, καὶ μὴν καὶ πολέμους καὶ εἰσεις πεπραγμένας οὕτως τοῖς οἰκείαις προσάταις, ὥς θεὸς ἠγνόησε καὶ ἀπεκάλετο, ὥσπερ ἐν μέρει καλοῦσθωμάτων καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ἀτεμνημόνευον, τὴν τῶν μνήμην ὡς σερμῶν καὶ ἀνδρείων τοῖς ὀφειγόνοις ἀπολιπόντες. Euseb. *Præf. Evang.* l. ii. c. 6.

was primary and peculiar to them, as Revelations, was of such a nature as the utmost perversity of man could not, in any degree, defeat; of such a nature as manifests there must needs be these Revelations; and that to expect more, or further, would not only be unreasonable, but absurd^f.

At present, to go on with the Deist in his own way. From what hath been said, we see a strong presumption, that God hath indeed communicated his will to mankind in that extraordinary way we call REVELATION.

And now, that amazing number of *false* religions, under paganism, begins to appear less formidable and injurious to the *true*. It was on a presumption they would prove so, that, in the foregoing volume, they were drawn out in review, with each its false Prophet at its head^g. And here at last they are employed, wicked instruments as they were, and wickedly as they have been abused in dishonouring truth, to evince the high probability of God's having actually given a revelation of his will to mankind.

If, therefore, there be such a thing as true revelation, our highest interests will engage us in the search of it: and we shall want no encouragement to proceed, because it must needs have some *characteristic mark* to distinguish it from the false. And this mark must be our guide.

^f See Book ix. and in the mean time, *Sermons on the Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion*, Sermon, v. vol. i.

^g See book ii. sect. 2.

Now if we look round the ancient world, and take a view of the numerous religions of paganism, we shall find (notwithstanding all pretended to be original, and all were actually independant) so perfect a harmony in their genius, and conformity in their ministrations, as to the object, subject, and end of religious worship^b, that we must needs conclude them to be all false, or all true. All true they could not be, because they contradicted one another, in matters of practice and speculation, professed to be revealed.

But amongst this prodigious number of pretended revelations, we find ONE, in an obscure corner of the globe, inhabited by a single family, so fundamentally opposite to all the other institutions of mankind, as would tempt us to conclude we have here found what we search after.

The many particulars in which this religion differed from all others, will be occasionally explained as we go along. For, as our subject forced us, in the former volume, to draw into view those marks of agreement which the false had with true revelation; so the same subject brings us now to the more pleasing task of shewing wherein the true differed from the false. To our present purpose it will be sufficient to take notice only of that primary and capital mark of distinction, which differentiated JUDAISM from all the rest; and this was its pretending TO COME FROM THE FIRST CAUSE OF ALL THINGS; AND ITS CONDEMNING EVERY OTHER RELIGION FOR AN IMPOSTURE.

I. Not one of all that numerous rabble of revelations, ever pretended to come from the FIRST

^b See book ii. sect. 1, 2, 5, 6. book iii. sect. 4.

CAUSEⁱ, or taught the worship of the one God in their PUBLIC ministrations^k. So true is that which Eusebius observes from Scripture, that “for the
 “Hebrew people alone was reserved the honour of
 “being *initiated* into the knowledge of God the
 “Creator of all things, and of being instructed in
 “the

ⁱ See *Div. Leg.* book ii. sect. 2.

^k Dr. Prideaux in his learned *Connexions*, has indeed told us a very entertaining story of ZOROASTRES; whom, of an early law-giver of the Bactrians, Dr. Hyde had made a late false prophet of the Persians, and the preacher up of one God in the public religion; which doctrine, however, this learned man supposes to be stolen from the Jews. But the truth is, the whole is a pure fable; contradicts all learned antiquity; and is supported only by the ignorant and romantic relations of late Persian writers under the Califes; who make Zoroastres contemporary with Darius Hytaspis, and servant to one of the Jewish prophets; yet in another fit of lying, they place him as early as Moses; they even say he was Abraham; nay, they stick not to make him one of the builders of Babel. It may be thought strange how such crude imaginations, however cooked up, could be deemed serviceable to Revelation, when they may be so easily turned against it; for all falshood is naturally on the side of unbelief. I have long indeed looked when some *minute philosopher* would settle upon this corrupted place, and give it the infidel taint. And just as I thought, it happened. One of them having grounded upon this absurd whimsy, the impious slander of the Jews having received from the followers of Zoroastres, during the captivity, juster notions of God and his providence than they had before.—See *The Moral Philosopher*, vol. i. and vol. ii. p. 144. Another of these *Philosophers* makes as good an use of his Indian Bracmanes and their *Vedam* and *Exourvedam*, for this *Vedam* is their Bible, as the *Zend* or *Zendavesta* is the Bible of the fire worshipers in Persia, and both of them apparent forgeries since the time of Mahomet to oppose to the Alcoran. Yet Mr. Voltaire says, of his Κεῖμῆλιον, the *Exourvedam*, that it is apparently older than the conquests of Alexander, because the rivers, towns, and countries are called by their old names, before they were new christened by the Greeks.—Cet ancien Commentaire du *Vedam* me parait écrit avant les conquêtes d'Alexandre, car on n'y trouve aucun des noms que le vainqueurs Grecs imposèrent aux fleuves, aux villes aux contrées. Additions à l'Hist.

“the practice of true piety towards him¹.” I said, *in their public ministrations*, for we have seen it was taught in their *mysteries* to a few; and to their mysteries, it is remarkable, the learned Father alludes; who opposeth the case of the Hebrews, to the Pagans^m; where a small and select number only was initiated into the knowledge of the Creator; but in Judea, a whole people.

II. That the Hebrews were as singular, in condemning all other religions of imposture, as in

P Hist. Generale, p. 23—4. Which is just as wise, as it would be to observe, that the Sarazin and Turkish annals were written before the conquests of Alexander, because we find in them none of the names which the Greeks imposed on the rivers, the cities, and the countries which they conquered in the Lesser Asia, but their ancient names, by which they were known from the earliest times. It never came into the Poet's head that the Indians and Arabians, might be exactly of the same humour, to restore the native names to the places from which the Greeks had driven them.

¹ — μόνω δὲ τῷ Ἑβραίων γένει τὴν, ΕΠΙΟΗΤΕΙΑΝ ἀναλεθεῖσθαι τῆς ΘΕΩΡΙΑΣ τοῦ τῶν ὅλων ποιητῆ καὶ ΔΗΜΙΟΥΡΓΟΥ Θεοῦ, καὶ τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀληθοῦς εὐσεβείας. *Præp. Evang.* l. i. c. ix. p. 20. As the imaginary interest of religion engaged Dr. Prideaux to espouse the *Persian tale* of Zoroastres; so the same motive induced those excellent persons, Stillingfleet, Cudworth, and Newton, to take the affirmative in the general question, whether the one true God had ever been publicly worshiped out of Judea, between the introduction of general idolatry, and the birth of Christ. As this determination of the *general* question is no less injurious to Revelation than the *particular* of Zoroastres, we may be assured no less advantage would be taken of it. Lord Bolingbroke saw to what use it might be applied, and has therefore inforced it to the discredit of Judaism; indeed, with his usual address, by entangling it in a contradiction. But those other venerable names will make it necessary hereafter to examine both the one and the other question at large.

^m See *Div. Leg.* vol. i. p. 165, 4th edit.

publicly worshiping one God, the Creator, hath been shewn in the former volume.

There is nothing more surprizing in all Pagan Antiquity, than that, amidst their endless Revelations, not one of them should ever pretend to come from the FIRST CAUSE of all things; or should condemn the rest of falshood: And yet there is nothing which modern writers are more accustomed to pass over without reflection. But the ancient Fathers, who were more intimately acquainted with the state of paganism, seem to have regarded it with the attention that so extraordinary a circumstance deserves: and I apprehend, it was no other than the difficulty of accounting for it, which made them recur so generally, as they do, to the agency of the DEVIL: for I must beg leave to assure certain modern rectifiers of prejudices, that the Fathers are not commonly led away by a vain superstition; as they affect to represent them: so that when these venerable writers unanimously concurred in thinking, *that the devil had a great share in the introduction and support of pagan revelations*, I imagine they were led to this conclusion from such like considerations as these,——That had these impostures been the sole agency of men, it is inconceivable that no one false prophet, no one speculative philosopher, of all those who regulated states, were well acquainted with the first Cause, and affected singularities and refinement, should ever have pretended to receive his Revelations from the only true God; or have accused the rest of falshood: A thing so very natural for some or other of them to have done, were it but to advance their own religion, in point of truth or origine, above the rest. On the contrary, so averse were they to any thing of this management, that those who pretended to inspirations

spirations even from JUPITER, never considered him, as he was often considered by particulars, in the sense of the Creator of all things; but as the local tutelar Jupiter, of Crete, for instance, or Libya. Again, those who pretended to the best system of religion, meant not the best simply; but the best for their own peculiar communityⁿ. This, if a supernatural agency be excluded, seemed utterly unaccountable. But admitting the Devil to his share, a very good reason might be assigned: for it is certain, the suffering his agents to pretend inspiration from the first Cause would have greatly endangered idolatry; and the suffering any of them to condemn the rest of falsehood, would (by setting men upon enquiry and examination) have soon put a stop to the unbounded progress of it.

Thus, I suppose, the Fathers reasoned: and I believe our Free-thinkers, with all their logic, would find it somewhat difficult to shew that they reasoned ill.

But as we have made it our business, all along, to enquire into the NATURAL causes of paganism, in all its amazing appearances, we shall go on, in the same way, to see what may be assigned for this most amazing of all.

I. First then, the FALSE PROPHET and POLITICIAN, who formerly cheated under one and the same person^o, found it necessary, in his character of Prophet, to pretend inspiration from the God most revered by the people; and this God was generally one of their dead ancestors, or citizens, whose services to the community had procured

ⁿ See *Div. Leg.* vol. i. b. ii. sect. 6.

^o Ibid. p. 104.
him

him divine honours^p; and who was, of course, a local tutelary Deity. In his character of Politician, he thought it of importance to have the national worship paid to the Founder of the Society, or to the father of the Tribe: for a God, who had them in peculiar, suited the gross conceptions of the people much better than a common Deity at large. But this practice gave birth to two principles, which prevented any opening for a pretended intercourse with the one God, the Creator. 1. The first was, an opinion of their DIVINES, that the supreme God did not immediately concern himself with the government of the world, but left it to local tutelary deities, his vicegerents^q. 2. The second, an opinion of their LAWGIVERS, that it would be of fatal consequence to Society to discover the first Cause of all things to the people^r.

2. But secondly, that which one would imagine should have brought the one God, the Creator, to the knowledge of the world, in some public Institution of religion, namely his being taught to so many in the Mysteries, and particularly to all who pretended to *revelation* and *lawgiving*^s, was the very thing that kept him unknown; because all who came to the knowledge of him this way, had it communicated to them under the most religious seal of secrecy.

3. Now, while the first Cause of all things was rejected or unknown, and nothing professed in the public worship but local tutelary Deities, each of which had his own appointment, and little concerned himself in that of another's, no one re-

^p *Div. Leg.* vol. i. p. 95.
sect. 4.

^s *Ibid.*

^q *Ibid.* vol. i.

^r Book ii.

ligion could accuse the other of falshood, because they all stood upon the same foundation.

How far this may account, in a natural way, for the matter in question, is submitted to the judgment of the learned.

Here then we rest. An essential difference between the JEWISH and all other religions is now found: the very mark we wanted to discriminate the true from the false.

As for any marks of resemblance in matters circumstantial, this will give us no manner of concern. The shame of this allegation must lie with the Deist, who can, in conscience, bring it into account, for the equal falshood of them both; seeing, were the jewish (as we pretend) true, and the pagan false, that very resemblance must still remain. For what, I pray, is a false religion, but the counterfeit of a true? And what is it to counterfeit, but to assume the likeness of the thing usurped? In good earnest, an Impostor, without one single feature of truth, would be a rarity even amongst monsters.

S E C T. II.

BUT the business of this work is not probability but DEMONSTRATION. This, therefore, only by the way, and to lead us the more easily into the main road of our enquiry: for the reader now sees we are pursuing no desperate adventure, while we endeavour to deduce the divinity of MOSES's Law, from the circumstances of the Law itself.

I go on with my proposed demonstration.

Having proved in the foregoing volume the first and second propositions——*That the inculcating the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments is necessary to the well-being of civil Society;—*and, *That all mankind, especially the most wise and learned nations of antiquity, have concurred in believing and teaching that this doctrine was of such use to civil Society:—*I come, in this, to the third,

THAT THE DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE STATE OF REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS IS NOT TO BE FOUND IN, NOR DID MAKE PART OF, THE MOSAIC DISPENSATION.

Now as, in support of the two first Propositions, I was forced to make my way thro' the long chicane of Atheism and Free-thinking; so in defence of the third, I shall have the much harder fortune of finding Adversaries in the quarter of our Friends: for it hath happened unluckily, that mistaken conceptions of the JEWISH and of the CHRISTIAN Dispensations, have made some advocates of Revelation always unwilling to confess the truth which I here endeavour to establish; and a late revived despicable whimsy concerning the Sadducism of the Hebrews, hath now violently inclined them to oppose it.

A man less fond of TRUTH, and equally attached to RELIGION, would have here stopt short, and ventured no further in a road where he must so frequently suffer the displeasure of forsaking those he most agrees with; and the much greater mortification of appearing to go along with those he
most

most differs from. I have often asked myself, What I had to do, to invent new arguments for Religion, when the old ones had outlived so many generations of this mortal race of infidels and free-thinkers? Why I did not rather chuse the high road of literary honours, and pick out some poor critic or small philosopher of this school, to offer up at the shrine of violated sense and virtue? Things that might be exposed to their deserved contempt on any principles; or indeed without any: I might then have flourished in the favour of my superiors, and the good-will of all my brethren. But the love of TRUTH breaks all my measures: *Imperiosa trahit veritas*; and I am once more borne away in the deep and troubled torrent of Antiquity.

These various prejudices abovementioned oblige me therefore to prove the third Proposition, in the same circumstantial manner I proved the first and second: and this will require a previous explanation of the MOSAIC POLICY.

But to form a right idea of that Institution, it will be necessary to know the genius and manners of the HEBREW PEOPLE; tho' it be, as we conceive, of divine appointment: and still more necessary to understand the character and abilities of their LAW-GIVER, if it be, as our adversaries pretend, only of human.

Now as the Hebrews, on receiving their LAW, were but just come from a strange country, the land of EGYPT; where the people had been held in slavery and oppression; and their Leader bred at court, and instructed in all the learning of their colleges; it could not but be, that the genius and
manners

manners of both would receive a high tincture from those with whom they had so long, and in such different stations, conversed: And in fact, holy Scripture assures us, that MOSES was *conversant in all the wisdom*, and the ISRAELITES besotted with *all the whoredoms or idolatries, of Egypt*.

It will be of importance therefore to know the state of SUPERSTITION and LEARNING in Egypt during these early ages.

This, as it is a necessary, so one would think, should be no difficult enquiry; for it is natural to suppose, that the same Scripture which tells us, that the Lawgiver and his people brought their wisdom and superstitions from Egypt, would tell us also what that wisdom and what those superstitions were. And so indeed it does; as will be seen in due time: Yet, by ill fortune, the fact stands, at present, so precarious, as to need much pains, and many words to make it owned. Divines, it is confessed, seem to allow the testimony of Stephen and Ezekiel, who under the very impulse of inspiration, say *that MOSES was learned in all the wisdom, and the people devoted to all the superstitions of Egypt*; yet, when they come to explain that learning, they make it to consist in such fopperies, as a wise and honest man, like MOSES, would never practise: when they come to particularize those superstitions, they will not allow even the *Golden Calf*, the ὁ ΜΟΣΧΟΣ ἱεὶς ὁ ἈΠΙΣ καλούμενος^t, to be of their number. For by an odd chance, tho' not uncommon in blind scuffles, the infidels and we have chang'd weapons: Our enemies attack us with the Bible, to prove the Egyptians very learned and very super-

^t Herod. l. iii. c. 28.

stitious in the time of Moses; and we defend ourselves with the *new Chronology* of Sir Isaac Newton, to prove them very barbarous and very innocent.

Would the reader know how this came about; it was in this wise: The infidels had observed, (as who that ever looked into sacred and profane Antiquity hath not?) that in the Jewish Law there were many ordinances respective of the institutions of Egypt. This circumstance they seized; and, according to their custom, envenomed; by drawing from thence a conclusion against *the Divine Legation of Moses*. The defenders of Revelation, surprized with the novelty of the argument, did that, in a fright and in excess of caution, which one may observe unprepared disputants generally do, to support their opinions; that is, they chose rather to deny the PREMISES than the CONCLUSION. For such, not knowing to what their adversary's principles may lead, think it a point of prudence to stop him in his first advance: whereas the skilful disputant well knows, that he never has his enemy at more advantage, than when, by allowing the premisses, he shews him arguing wrong from his own principles; for the question being then to be decided by the certain rules of logic, his confutation exposes the weakness of the advocate as well as of the cause. When this is over, he may turn with a good grace upon the premisses; to expose them, if false; to rectify them, if misrepresented; or to employ them in the service of Religion, if truly and faithfully delivered: and this service they will never refuse him; as I shall shew in the previous question of *the high antiquity of Egypt*, and in the main question of *the omission of a future state in the institution of the Hebrews*.

And I am well persuaded that, had those excellent advocates of Religion (whose labours have set the truth in a light not to be resisted) but duly weighed the character of those with whom they had to do, they would have been less startled at any consequences the power of their logic could have deduced. The Tolands, the Blounts, the Tindals, are, in truth, of a temper and complexion, in which one finds more of that quality which subjects men to draw wrong Conclusions, than of that which enables them to invent false Principles.

The excellent SPENCER, indeed, endeavoured to dissipate this panic, by shewing these premisses to be the true key to the REASON OF THE LAW; for the want of a *sufficient reason* in the ceremonial and positive part of it, was the greatest objection, which thinking men had, to the divinity of its original.

But all this did not yet reconcile men to those premisses. It would seem as if they had another quarrel with them, besides the poor unlearned fear of their leading to the infidel's conclusion; namely, for their being an adversary's principle simply; and, on that score alone to be disputed. This is a perverse, tho' common prejudice, which infects our whole communication; and hath hurt unity in the church, and humanity in civil life, as well as peace in the schools. For who knows not that the same impotent aversion to things abused by an enemy, hath made one sort of sectaries divide from the national church, and another reprobate the most indifferent manners of their country?

* Puritans, Quakers, &c.

And it is to be observed, that till that unlucky time when the infidels first blundered upon truth, this principle met with a very general reception: the ancient Fathers, and modern Divines of all denominations concurring in their use of it, to illustrate the wisdom of God's Laws, and the truth of his Son's interpretation of them, where he assureth us that they were given to the Hebrews *for the hardness of their hearts*; no sort of men sticking out, but a few visionary Jews, who, besotted with the nonsense of their cabbala, obstinately shut their eyes against all the light which the excellent MAIMONIDES had first poured into this palpable obscure.

Not that I would be understood as admitting the premisses in the latitude in which our adversaries deliver them;

Iliacos intra muros peccatur & extra.

The human mind, miserably weak and instable, and distracted with a great variety of objects, is naturally inclined to repose itself in SYSTEM; nothing being more uneasy to us than a state of doubt; or a view too large for our comprehension. Hence we see, that, of every imaginary fact, some or other have made an hypothesis; of every cloud, a castle: And the common vice of these castle-builders is to draw every thing within its precincts, which they fancy may contribute to its defence or embellishment. We have given an instance, in the former volume*, of the folly of those who have run into the contrary extreme, and are for deriving all arts, laws and religions

* Vol. i. part 2d. page 133.

from the People of God: an extravagance at length come to such a height, that, if you will believe certain writers^y, the poor heathen had neither the grace to kneel to prayers, nor the wit to put their Gods under cover, till the Israelites taught them the way. But our wise adversaries are even with them; and will bate no believer an inch, in driving on an hypothesis: for had not the Egyptians, by great good luck, as they give us to understand^z, enjoined *honour to parents*, and *restrained theft, by punishment*, the Jews had been in a sad blind condition when they came to take possession of the promised land. Are these men more sober in their accounts of the religious Institutions of the Hebrews? I think not; when they pretend to prove *circumcision* of egyptian original from the testimony of late writers, who neither speak to the point, nor in this point are in reason to be regarded, if they did^a.

But

^y See Shuckford's *Sacred and profane history of the world connected*, vol. ii. edit. 2d. p. 317—327.—Our countryman Gale, in the like manner, is for deriving all arts and sciences, without exception, from the Jews.—“*Arithmetic*, he says, it is evident had its foundation from God himself; for the first computation of time is made by God, GEN. i. 5, &c. And as for *navigation*, tho' some ascribe it to the Phenicians; yet it is manifest the first idea thereof was taken from Noah's ark. It is as plain that *geography* traduced its first lines from the mosaic description of the several plantations of Noah's posterity.”——*Court of the Gentiles*, part i. p. 18. Who would not think but the learned man, and learned he really was in good truth, was disposed to banter us, had he not given so sad a proof of his being in earnest as the writing three bulky volumes to support these wonderful discoveries?

^z See Marsham's *Canon Chron. ed. Franeq.* p. 177, 188.

^a See *Canon Chron. Secul.* v. tit. *Circumcisio*. I decline entering into this controversy for two reasons: 1. Because

But why all this strife for or against the one or other hypothesis? for assuredly it would no more follow,

which way soever the question be decided, the truth of the mosaic account will be nothing affected by it; for the Scripture no where says, that Abraham was the first man, circumcised; nor is the prior use of this rite amongst men, any argument against God's enjoining him to observe it. The pious bishop Cumberland little thought he was diserving religion, when he followed an interpretation of the fragment of Sanchoniatho, which led him to conclude [*Remarks on Sanchon.'s Phœn. Hist.* p. 150.] that whole nations had practised circumcision before Abraham: but I quote this great man not for the weight of his opinion in a matter so unconcerning, but as an example of that candour of mind and integrity of heart, without which the pursuit of truth is a vainer employment than the pursuit of butterflies. A less able and a less ingenuous man, with not a tenth part of this noble writer's invention, would have had a thousand tricks and fetches to reconcile the first institution of this rite in Abraham, to the high antiquity he had given to Cronus. Another example of a contrary conduct, in a writer of equal account, will shew us how much this ingenuity is to be esteemed in men of learning. The excellent Dr. Hammond, misled by the party-prejudices of his time, had persuaded himself to believe, that the prophecies of the Apocalypse related only to the first ages of the christian church; and that the book was written not, as Irenæus supposed, about the end of Domitian's reign, but, as Epiphanius affirmed, in Claudius Cæsar's. To this, there were two objections; First, that then the prophesy, which, on Hammond's system, related to the destruction of Jerusalem, would be of an event past: while the prophesy speaks of it as a thing future. To this he replies, That it was *customary with the Prophets to speak of things past as of things to come*. So far was well. But then the second objection is, That if this were the time of writing the Revelations, Antipas, who is said, c. ii, ver. 13. to have been martyred, was yet alive. No matter for that, it was *customary with the Prophets*, as he tells us on the other hand, *to speak of things to come as of things past*. And all this within the compass of two pages. 2. The other reason for my not entering into this matter is, because it is not my intention to examine (except occasionally) any particular question of this kind. This hath been done already. What I propose is to prove in general, that many of the positive institutions of the Hebrews were enjoined in opposition to the idolatrous customs of the Egyptians; and that some bearing a conformity to those customs,

follow, from this of our adversaries, that the jewish Religion was false, than from a lately revived one of our friends, which supposes all the Gods of Egypt to have come out of Abraham's family^b, that the egyptian was true.

It must indeed be of use to true religion, where or whatever it be, to trace up things to their original: and for that reason alone, without any views to party, I shall endeavour to prove the four following propositions.

1. That the Egyptian learning, celebrated in Scripture, and the Egyptian superstition there condemned, were the very learning and superstition represented by the Greek writers, as the honour and opprobrium of that Kingdom.

2. That the jewish people were extremely fond of egyptian manners, and did frequently fall into egyptian superstitions: and that many of the laws given to them by the ministry of Moses, were instituted, partly in compliance to their prejudices, and partly in opposition to those superstitions.

3. That Moses's egyptian learning, and the laws he instituted in compliance to the people's prejudices, and in opposition to egyptian superstitions, are no reasonable objection to the divinity of his mission. And,

customs, and not liable to be abused to superstition, were indulged to them, in wise compliance with the prejudices which long use and habit are accustomed to induce.

^b Voyez *Reflexions Critiques sur les Histoires des Anciens Peuples.*

4. That those very circumstances are a strong confirmation of the truth of his pretensions.

The enquiry, into which the proof of these points will lead us, is, as we said, very necessary to the gaining a true idea of the nature of the jewish Dispensation: as that idea will enable the reader to form a right judgment of the force of those arguments I am preparing for the support of my THIRD PROPOSITION, *That the doctrine of a future state is not to be found in, nor did make part of the jewish Dispensation.* But the enquiry has still a further use. I shall employ the result of it to *strengthen* that general conclusion, THAT MOSES HAD REALLY A DIVINE MISSION, which I have promised to deduce thro' the medium of this third proposition: so that the reader must not think me in the humour to trifle with him, if this enquiry should prove longer than he expected.

And here, on the entrance, it will be no improper place to explain my meaning, when, in my first setting out, I promised to demonstrate the truth of the jewish revelation, ON THE PRINCIPLES OF A RELIGIOUS DEIST. Had I meant no more by this, than that I would argue with him on common principles, I had only insulted the reader's understanding by an affected expression, while I pretended to make that peculiar to my defence, which is, or ought to be, a circumstance common to all: or had I meant so much by it, as to imply, that I would argue with the deist on his own false principles, I had then unreasonably bespoke the reader's long attention to a mere argument *ad hominem*, which, at best, had only proved the free-thinker a bad reasoner; and who wants to be convinced of that? but my point was not so much to

to shew that the Infidel was in the wrong, as that the Believer was in the right: the only remaining sense then of the deist's own principles is this, Those true principles of his, which because they are generally held by the enemies of Religion, and almost as generally rejected by the friends of it, have got the title of *deistical principles*. Such, for instance, as this I am going upon, *the high antiquity of the egyptian wisdom*; and such as that, for the sake of which I go upon it, *the omission of the doctrine of a future state in the mosaic dispensation*. And these are the principles by which I promise, in good time, to overturn all his conclusions.

S E C T. III.

THE first proposition is, — *That the Egyptian learning, celebrated in Scripture, and the egyptian superstition there condemned, were the very learning and superstition represented by the Greek writers as the honour and opprobrium of that kingdom.*

To prove this, I shall in the first place shew (both by external and internal evidence) the just pretensions which Egypt had to a superior antiquity: and then examine the new hypothesis of Sir ISAAC NEWTON against that antiquity.

It is confessed on all hands, that the greek writers concur in representing Egypt as one of the most ancient and powerful monarchies in the world. In support of what they deliver, we may observe, that they have given a very particular account of the civil and religious customs in use from the most early times of memory: customs of such a kind, as shew the followers of them

them to have been most polite and powerful.— Thus stands the grecian evidence.

But to this it may be replied, that the Greeks are, in all respects, incompetent witnesses, and carry with them such imperfections as are sufficient to discredit any evidence; being, indeed, very *ignorant*, and very *prejudiced*. As this made them liable to imposition; so falling, as we shall see, into ill hands, they actually were imposed on.

Their *ignorance* may be fairly collected from their age; and from the authors of their intelligence. They all lived long after the times in question; and, tho' they received indeed their information from Egypt itself; yet for the most part, it was not till after the entire destruction of that ancient empire, and when it was now become a province, in succession, to asiatic and european conquerors: when their ancient and public records were destroyed; and their very learning and genius changed to a conformity with their grecian masters: who would needs, at this time of day, seek wisdom from Egypt, which could but furnish them with their own; tho', because they would have it so, disguised under the stately obscurity of an eastern cover^c.

Nor were their *prejudices* less notorious. They thought themselves Autocthones, the original inhabitants of the earth, and indebted to none for their advantages. But when knowledge and acquaintance with foreign nations had convinced them of their mistake; and that, so far

^c See *Div. Leg.* vol. i. book iii. sect. 4

from owing nothing to others, they owed almost every thing to Egypt; their writers, still true to their natural vanity, now gave the post of honour to these, which they could no longer keep to themselves; and complimented their new instructors with the most extravagant antiquity. What the Greeks conceived out of vain-glory, the Egyptians cherished to promote a trade. This country was long the mart of knowledge for the eastern and western world: and as nothing so much recommends this kind of commodity as its age, they set it off by forged records, which extended their history to a most unreasonable length of time: accounts of these have been conveyed to us by ancient authors, and fully confuted by the modern. Thus stands the objection to the grecian evidence. And, though I have no business to determine in this question, as the use I make of the greek authority is not at all affected by it; yet I must needs confess that, were there no writings of higher antiquity to confirm the grecian, their testimony would be very doubtful: but could writings of much higher antiquity be found to contradict it, they would deserve to have no credit at all.

Whatever therefore they say of the high antiquity of Egypt, unsupported by the reason of the thing, or the testimony of holy Scripture, shall never be employed in this enquiry: but whatever Reason and Scripture seem to contradict, whether it serve the one or other purpose, I shall always totally reject.

The unanimous agreement of the greek writers in representing Egypt as the most ancient and best policied empire in the world, is, as we say, generally known and acknowledged,

I. Let

I. Let us see then, in the first place, what REASON says concerning this matter.

There is, if I be not much mistaken, one circumstance in the situation of Egypt, which seems to assert its claim to a priority amongst the civilized Nations; and consequently to it's eldership in Arts and Arms.

There is no soil on the face of the globe so fertile but what, in a little time, becomes naturally effete by pasturage and tillage. This, in the early ages of the world, forced the unsettled tribes of men to be perpetually shifting their abode. For the world lying all before them, they saw a speedier and easier relief in removing to fresh ground, than in turning their thoughts to the recovery^a of the fertility of that already spent by occupation: for it is necessity alone, to which we are indebted for all the artificial methods of supplying our wants.

Now the plain of Egypt having it's fertility annually restored by the periodic overflowings of the Nile, they, whom chance or choice had once directed to sit down upon it's banks, had never after an occasion to remove their tents. And when men have been so long settled in a place, that the majority of the inhabitants are become natives of

^a The recovery of exhausted fertility by compost, seems not to have been a very early invention. For tho' Homer describes Laertes in his rural occupations as busied in this part of agriculture; yet Hesiod, in a professed and detailed poem on the subject, never once mentions the method of dunging land.--- Not that I regard this circumstance as any sure proof to determine the question of Hesiod's priority in point of time. It may be well accounted for, by supposing, that they described particular places in the state they were then found, some more and some less advanced in the arts of civil life.

the soil, the inborn love of a Country has, by that time, struck such deep roots into it, that nothing but extreme violence can draw them out. Hence, civil policy arises; which, while the unsettled tribes of mankind keep shifting from place to place, remains stifled in its seeds.

This, I apprehend, if rightly considered, will induce us to conclude, that Egypt was very likely to have been one of the first civilized countries on the globe.

II. Let us see next what SCRIPTURE has recorded in support of the same truth.

I. So early as the time of Abraham we find a king in Egypt of the common name of Pharaoh^c: which would induce one to believe, that the civil policy was much the same as in the times of Joseph and Moses: and how perfect it then was, will be seen presently. This kingdom is represented as abounding in corn, and capable of relieving others in a time of famine^f: which no kingdom can do, where agriculture has not been improved by art, and regulated by a civil policy. We see the splendor of a luxurious court, in the princes who resided in the monarch's household: amongst whom, we find some (as the most thriving trade for royal favour) to have been procurers to his pleasures^g: nor were the presents made by Pharaoh to Abraham, at all unworthy of a great king^h. An adventure of the same sort as this of Abraham's

^c GENESIS xii. 15.

^f ver. 10.

^g *The princes also of Pharaoh saw her, and COMMENDED HER BEFORE PHARAOH: and the woman was taken into Pharaoh's house.* GEN. xii. 15.

^h ver. 16.

with Pharaoh, happened to his son Isaac with Abimelech; which will instruct us in the difference between an Egyptian monarch, and a petty roitolet of the Philistines. Abimelech is described as little different from a simple particularⁱ, without his guards, or great princes; so jealous and afraid of Isaac's growing power, that he obliged him to depart out of his dominions^k; and, not satisfied with that, went afterwards to beg a peace of him, and would swear him to the observance of it^l.

2. The caravan of ishmaelite merchants, going from Gilead to Egypt^m, brings us to the second scripture-period of this ancient monarchy. And here their camel-loads of spicery, balm, and myrrh, and their traffic in young slavesⁿ, commodities only for a rich and luxurious people, sufficiently declare the established power and wealth of Egypt. We find a captain of Pharaoh's guard; a chief butler, and a baker^o. We see in the vestures of fine linen, in the gold chains, and state-chariots given to Joseph^p, all the marks of luxury and politeness: and in the cities for laying up of stores and provisions^q, the effects of wise government and opulence. Nor is the policy of a distinct PRIESTHOOD, which is so circumstantially described in the history of this period, one of the least marks of the high antiquity of this flourishing kingdom. It is agreed, on all hands, that there was such an Institution in Egypt, long before it was known in any other parts of the East. And if what Diodorus Siculus intimates to be the original of a distinct priesthood, be true, namely the growing

ⁱ GEN. chap. xxvi. 7, 8.^k ver. 16.^l ver. 26,

& seq.

^m Chap. xxxvii. 25.ⁿ Chap. xxxvii. ver. 28.^o Chap. xxxix, xl.^p Chap. xli. ver. 42, 43.^q Chap. xli.

multitude

multitude of religious rites, we see the whole force of this observation. For multiplicity of religious rites is generally in proportion to the advances in civil life.

3. The redemption of the Hebrews from their slavery is the third period of the egyptian monarchy, recorded in Scripture. Here, the building of treasure cities^r, and the continual employment of so vast a multitude, in only preparing materials^s for public edifices, shew the vast power and luxury of the State. Here too, we find a fixed and standing militia^t of chariots; and, what is more extraordinary, of cavalry^u: in which kind of military address the Greeks were unskilled till long after the times of the trojan war. And indeed, if we may believe St. Paul, this kingdom was chosen by God to be the scene of all his wonders, in support of his elect people, for this very reason, that through the celebrity of so famed an empire, the power of the true God might be spread abroad, and strike the observation of the whole habitable world.—*For the Scripture saith unto Pharaoh, Even for this same purpose have I raised thee up, that I might shew my power in thee; and that my name might be declared throughout all the earth^x.*

To this let me add, that Scripture every where, throughout these three periods, represents Egypt as an entire kingdom under one monarch^y; which is a certain mark of great advances in civil policy and power: all countries, on their first egression out of barbarity, being divided into many little States and principalities; which, as those arts improved,

^r Exod. i. 11. ^s Chap. v. ver. 14. ^t Chap. xiv. ver. 7.
^u ver. 9. ^x Rom. ix. 7. ^y See GEN. xli. 41, 43, 45, 46, 55. xlvii. 20. & Exod. *passim*.

were naturally brought, either by power or policy, to unite and coalesce.

But here let me observe, such is the ceaseless revolution of human affairs, that that power which reduced Egypt into a monarchy, was the very thing which, when it came to it's height, occasioned it's falling back again under it's *Reguli*. Sesostris, as Diodorus Siculus informs us, divided the lower Egypt to his soldiery, by a kind of feudal Law, into large patrimonial tenures. The successors of this militia, as Marsham reasonably conjectures², growing powerful and factious, set up, each leader for himself, in his own patrimonial Nome. The powerful empire of the Franks, here in the West, from the same causes underwent the same fate, from the debility of which it did not recover till these latter ages.

Thus invincibly do the Hebrew records^a support the Grecian evidence for the high antiquity of Egypt. And it is further remarkable, that the later inspired writers of the sacred canon confirm this concurrent testimony, in the constant attributes of *antiquity* and *wisdom*, which, upon all occasions, they bestow upon the egyptian nation. Thus the prophet Isaiah, in denouncing God's judgments against this people:—“ Surely the princes
“ of Zoan are fools, the counsel of the wise coun-
“ fellows of Pharaoh is become brutish: How say

² *Can. Chron.* p. 446.

^a Here let me observe, that this representation of the high and flourishing state of Egypt, in these early times, greatly recommends the truth of the Samaritan chronology, and shews how much it is to be preferred to the Hebrew. See the learned and judicious M. LEONARD in his *observations sur l'antiquité des Hieroglyphes Scientifiques*, p. 339. 2d vol.

“ye unto Pharaoh, I am the son of the wise, the
 “son of ANCIENT KINGS? Where are they? where
 “are thy WISE MEN? and let them tell thee now,
 “and let them know what the Lord of hosts hath
 “purposed upon Egypt^b.”

But the greek writers do not content themselves to tell us, in a vague and general manner, of the high antiquity and power of Egypt, which in that case was little to be regarded; but they support the fact, of which their books are so full, by a minute and circumstantial account of INSTITUTIONS, civil and religious, said to be observed by that people from the most early times, which, in their very nature, speak a great and powerful people; and belong only to such as are so. Now this account sacred Scripture remarkably confirms and verifies.

^b ISAIAH XIX. 11, 12.—The various disasters to which determined disputants are obnoxious from their own proper tempers, would make no unentertaining part of literary history. A learned writer undertaking to confute the egyptian pretensions to their high antiquity, thinks it proper first to shew, that they did indeed pretend to it. And this, it must be owned, he does effectually enough. His words are these. “Et profecto, ab ANTIQUISSIMIS TEMPORIBUS hac vanitate infecti erant: dicebat enim, ipso Isaiaë tempore, purpuratorum quisque Pharaoni se esse *filium regum antiquissimorum*.” — *Spicilegia antiq. Egypt. &c. autore Gul. Jameson*. Now, could any thing be more unlucky? The author only meant to introduce his system by this flourish; and in introducing it, he confutes it. For can there be a better evidence of the high antiquity of any people than that they claimed it from the *most ancient times*? from times long preceding that general vanity of a high antiquity, which had infected the nations, and prompted them to support their claims against one another, by forged evidence and unphilosophic reasoning? Not to say, that this high antiquity is acknowledged by the Prophet also; the force of whose exultation depends on the truth of it. For what reason was there to insist so much on the power and wisdom of God in *destroying the counsel of Egypt*, if Pharaoh and his Counsellors, only pretended to be, but were not, *wise*; nor yet, *the sons of ancient kings*?

I. The PRIESTHOOD being the primum mobile of the Egyptian policy, we shall begin with that. Diodorus Siculus thus describes its state and establishment: — “ The whole country being
 “ divided into three parts; the first belongs to
 “ the body of Priests; an order in the highest
 “ reverence amongst their countrymen, for their
 “ piety to the Gods, and their consummate wisdom,
 “ acquired by the best education, and the
 “ closest application to the improvement of the
 “ mind. With their revenues they supply all
 “ Egypt with public sacrifices; they support a
 “ number of inferior officers, and maintain their
 “ own families: for the Egyptians think it utterly
 “ unlawful to make any change in their public
 “ worship; but hold that every thing should be
 “ administer’d by their priests, in the same constant
 “ invariable manner. Nor do they deem it
 “ at all fitting that those, to whose cares the public
 “ is so much indebted, should want the common
 “ necessities of life: for the priests are constantly
 “ attached to the person of the King, as
 “ his coadjutors, counsellors, and instructors, in
 “ the most weighty matters. — For it is not
 “ amongst them as with the Greeks, where one
 “ single man or woman exercises the office of
 “ the priesthood. Here a Body or Society is employed,
 “ in sacrificing and other rites of public
 “ worship; who transmit their profession to their
 “ children. This Order, likewise, is exempt from
 “ all charges and imposts, and holds the second
 “ honours, under the King, in the public administration.”

Of

Ἡ δὲ χώρα ἀπάσης εἰς τρία μέρη διηρημένης, τὴν μὲν πρώτην ἔχει μερίδα τὸ σύνθημα τῶν ἱερέων, μεγίστης ἐνδοξείας τυγχάνον παρὰ τοῖς ἑσχατοῖς, διὰ τε τὴν εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβείαν, καὶ διὰ τὸ πλείστην συνέσιν τῶν ἀνδρῶν τέχνης ἐκ παιδείας εἰσφέρεισθαι. ἐκ δὲ τούτων τῶν προσώπων τὰς τε θυσίας ἀπάσας καὶ κατ’ Αἴγυπτον συνέλεξι, καὶ τὰς ὑπερέτας

Of all the colleges of the priesthood, Herodotus tells us, that of HELIOPOLIS was most famed for wisdom and learning^d: and Strabo says that, in his time, very spacious buildings yet remained in that place; where, as the report ran, was formerly the chief residence of the Priests, who cultivated the studies of philosophy and astronomy^e.

Thus these three celebrated historians; whose account, in every particular, is fully confirmed by MOSES; who tells us, that the Egyptian Priests were a distinct order in the state, and had an established landed revenue; that when the famine raged so severely that the people were compelled to sell their lands to the crown, for bread, the Priests still kept theirs, unalienated, and were supplied gratis^f. Diodorus's account, which gives us the reason of this indulgence, confirms the scripture-history, and is fully supported by it: for

ὑπηρετάς τρέφουσι, καὶ ταῖς ἰδίαις χρέαις χορηγῶσιν· ἔτε γὰρ τὰς τῶν θεῶν τιμὰς ὥντο δεῖν ἀλλάττειν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν αἰεὶ καὶ παραπλησίως συνέλεισθαι· ἔτε τὰς πάντων προθυλευόμενης, ἐνδεεῖς εἶναι τῶν ἀναγκαίων. Καθόλου γὰρ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἔτοι προθυλευόμενοι συνδιαρίθουσι τῷ βασιλεῖ, τῶν μὲν συνεργοί, τῶν δὲ εἰσηγηταὶ καὶ διδάσκαλοι γινόμενοι· — ἔ γὰρ ὥσπερ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, εἷς ἀνὴρ ἢ μία γυνὴ τὴν ἱερωσύνην παρέιληφεν, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ περὶ τὰς τῶν θεῶν θυσίας καὶ τιμὰς διατρέφουσι, καὶ τοῖς ἐσθλοῖς τὴν ὁμοίαν τῇ βίᾳ προαίρουσιν παραδιδόασιν. Εἰσὶ δὲ ἔτοι πάντων τε ἀτελεῖς, καὶ δευτερέωντες μετὰ τὸν βασιλέα ταῖς τε δόξαις, καὶ ταῖς ἐξουσίαις. *Bibl. Hist. p. 46. Steph. ed.*

^d Οἱ γὰρ Ἡλιεπολῖται λέγονται Αἰγυπτίῳ εἶναι λογιώτατοι. *lib. ii. c. 3.*

^e Ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἡλιεπόλει καὶ οἶκος εἶδομεν μεγάλης, ἐν οἷς διέτριβον οἱ ἱερεῖς· μάλιστ' αὖ γὰρ δὴ ταύτην κατοικίαν ἱερέων γεγενῆσθαι φασὶ τοὺς παλαιούς, φιλοσόφων ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἀστρονομικῶν. *Geogr. l. xvii.*

^f Only the land of the priests bought he not: for the priests had a portion assigned them of Pharaoh, and did eat their portion which Pharaoh gave them; wherefore they sold not their lands. *GEN. xlvii. 22.*

there we see, not only the reverence in which the Order was held, but the publick uses of religion, to which two thirds of their revenues were applied, kept Pharaoh from attempting on their property. Again, MOSES supports what Diodorus says of the public and high employment of the Priests, (who were privy counsellors and ministers of state) where speaking of the priest of ON^g, he calls him *Choben*, which, as J. Cocceius shews in his *lexcion*^h, signifies as well the friend and privy counsellor of the King, as a Priest; and accordingly, the *Chald. Paraphr.* calls him *Princeps On*. The word often occurs; and, I imagine, was borrowed from the egyptian language; the Hebrews having no order of priesthood before that instituted by MOSES. This further appears from the name Coesⁱ, given to the priests of the *samothraccian Mysteries*, plainly a corruption of Coen or Chohen. The Mysteries in general, we have shewn^k, were derived from Egypt, and particularly those of Ceres or Isis, at Eleusis: Now, in Samothrace, the Mysteries were of Ceres and Proserpine, as at Eleusis^l. Lastly,

^g GEN. chap. xlv. ver. 20.

^h *Choben*, proprie & ex vi vocis, qui accedit ad Regem, & eum, qui summus est. Ideo explicationis ergo adjungitur tanquam etymologiæ evolutio, EXOD. xix. 22. "Sacerdotes qui accedunt ad Jehovah."—Non, quod vox *Choben* notet *primum*, ut vult Kimchius, sed quod notet *primos accedentium*—Certe in Ægypto fuerunt tales, & his alimonia a rege debebatur.

ⁱ Κοίης, ἱερεὺς Καθεύρων. *Hesych.* ^k *Div. Leg.* lib. ii. sect. 4.

^l Μυῦνται δὲ ἐν τῇ Σαμοθράκῃ τοῖς Καθεύροις, ὧν Μνασέας φησὶ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα. Τέσσαρες δ' εἰσὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν, Ἀξίερος, Ἀξιοκέρσα, Ἀξιοκέρσο. Ἀξίερος μὲν ἐν εἶν ἡ Δημήτηρ· Ἀξιοκέρσα δὲ ἡ Περσεφόνη· Ἀξιοκέρσο δὲ ὁ Ἄδης· ὁ δὲ προστιθέμενος τέταρτος Κάσμιλος ὁ Ἑρμῆς εἶναι, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Διονυσόδωρος. *Schol. in Apoll. Argon.* l. i. ver. 917.

MOSES

MOSES confirms Herodotus's and Strabo's account of the superior learning and dignity of the heliopolitan college. When Joseph was exalted to the prime ministry, he tells us, that Pharaoh married him to a daughter of the priest of ON^m; which the septuagint and vulgar latin rightly interpret HELIOPOLIS: that the king was then in a disposition to do Joseph the highest honours, is plain from the circumstances of the story; and that he principally consulted his establishment in this alliance, appears from the account given us by these greek historians. We see the public administration was in the hands of the priesthood; who would unwillingly bear a stranger at the head of affairs. The bringing Joseph therefore into their family, and Orderⁿ which was hereditary, was the best expedient to allay their prejudices and envy. And this Pharaoh did most effectually, by marrying

^m GEN. xlv. 20.

ⁿ Chæremón, who, as we are told by Josephus, wrote the history of Egypt, calls Moses and Joseph scribes; and Joseph a sacred scribe, *ηγείσθαι δ' αὐτῶν γραμματείας Μωϋσῆν τε καὶ ΙΩΣΗΠΟΝ, καὶ τῶτον ΙΕΡΟΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΑ*, *cont. Ap. lib. i.* It is true, the historian has confounded times, in making Joseph contemporary with Moses: but this was a common mistake amongst the pagans. Justin the epitomizer of Trogus Pompeius calls Moses the son of Joseph—*Filius ejus [Joseph] Moses fuit, quem præter paternæ scientiæ hæreditatem, &c. lib. xxxvi. cap. 2.* Those learned men therefore are mistaken, who, for this reason, would have it that Chæremón, by Joseph, meant Joshua. Besides, the superior title here given to Joseph shews plainly we are to understand the patriarch, and not the companion of Moses: for tho' it appears from Scripture that Joseph and Moses were related to, and educated by the egyptian Priesthood, yet we have not the least reason to think that Joshua had ever any concern with them; being held with the rest of his brethren in a state of servitude, remote from the benefit of that education, which a singular accident had bestowed upon Moses.

him into that Cast which was then of greatest name and credit amongst them.

I will only observe, that this superior nobility of the Priests of *On*, seems to have been chiefly owing to their higher antiquity. Heliopolis, or the city of the Sun, was the place where that luminary was principally worshiped; and certainly, from the most early times: for Diodorus tells us, that *the first gods of Egypt were the sun and moon*^o; the truth of which, all this, laid together, remarkably confirms. Now if we suppose, as is very reasonable, that the first established Priests in Egypt, were those dedicated to the Sun at *On*, we shall not be at a loss to account for their titles of nobility. Strabo says they were much given to astronomy; and this too we can easily believe: for what more likely than that they should be fond^p of the study of that system, over which their God presided, not only in his *moral*, but in his *natural* capacity? For whether they received the doctrine from original tradition, or whether they invented it at hazard, which is more likely^q, in order to exalt this their visible God, by giving him the post of honour, it is certain they taught that the sun was in the center

^o See *Div. Leg.* vol. i. part 2. p. 295.

^p Hence we may collect, how ill-grounded that opinion is of Eupolemus and other authors, ancient and modern, who imagine, that Abraham first taught the Egyptians astrology. And indeed the contending for this original of the sciences seems to contradict another argument much in use amongst Divines, and deservedly so; which answers the objection of infidels against the authority of the Bible, from several inaccuracies in science to be met with in sacred history, by observing it was not God's purpose, in revealing himself to mankind, to instruct them in the sciences.

^q See the first volume of the *Div. Leg.* 4th edit.

of its system, and that all the other bodies moved round it, in perpetual revolutions. This noble theory came, with the rest of the egyptian learning, into Greece, (being brought thither by Pythagoras; who, it is remarkable, received it from Cænuphis, a priest of Heliopolis^r;) and, after having given the most distinguished lustre to his school, it sunk into obscurity, and suffered a total eclipse throughout a long succession of learned and unlearned ages; till these times relumed its ancient splendor, and immoveably fixed it on the most unerring principles of science.

II. Another observable circumstance of conformity between the greek historians and MOSES, is in their accounts of the RELIGIOUS RITES of Egypt. Herodotus expressly tells us, that the Egyptians esteemed it a prophanation, to sacrifice any kind of cattle, except swine, bulls, clean calves, and geese^s; and, in another place, that heifers, rams, and goats were held sacred^t, either
in

^r Εὐδοξὸν μὲν ἐν Χονέφρῳ φησὶ Μερφίτη διακῆσαι· Σόλωνα δὲ, Σόλχη. Σαίτη. ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΑΝ δὲ, Οἰνέφρῳς ΗΛΙΟΥΠΟΛΙΤΟΥ, *Plut. de Is. & Osir. p. 632. Steph. ed.* Here we see, each sage went for that science he was disposed to cultivate, to its proper Mart: for not only Pythagoras studied astronomy at Heliopolis, where it was professed with the greatest celebrity; but Eudoxus learnt his geometry at Memphis, whose priests were the most profound mathematicians; and Solon was instructed in civil wisdom at Sais, whose patron deity being Minerva (as we are told by Herodotus and Strabo) shews that politicks was there in most request: and this doubtless was the reason why Pythagoras, who, during his long abode in Egypt, went thro' all their schools, chose Minerva for the patroness of his legislation. See *Div. Leg. vol. i. book ii. sect. 2, 3.*

^s Τοῖσι γὰρ οὐδὲ κτήνηα ὅσιν θύειν ἐστὶ, χωρὶς ὑῶν, καὶ ἐρσένων βοῶν, καὶ μόσχων, ὅσιν ἂν καθαροὶ ἦωσι, καὶ χηνέων, πῶς ἂν ἔτοι ἀνθρώπων θυοίεν; 1, ii. c. 45.

^t — τὰς βῆς τὰς θηλέας Αἰγύπτιοι πάντες ὁμοίως σέβονται προβάτων πάντων μάλιστα μακρῶν.—cap. xli.—Ὅσοι μὲν δὲ Διὸς Θηοαίης ἰδρύηται

in one province or in another : tho' not from any adoration paid in these early times to the *living animal*. I shall shew hereafter that the Egyptians at first only worshiped their figures or images. However picture worship must needs make the animals themselves sacred, and unfit for sacrifice. Now here again, in confirmation of this account, we are told by Scripture, that when Pharaoh would have had Moses sacrifice to God, in the land of Egypt, according to his own family-rites, the prophet objected, — *It is not meet so to do; for we shall sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians to the Lord our God: Lo shall we sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians before their eyes, and will they not stone us*"? And if Herodotus came any thing near the truth in his account of the early superstition of Egypt, the Israelites, we see, could not avoid sacrificing the abomination, i. e. the Gods of the Egyptians. And with what deadly hatred and revenge they pursued such imaginary impieties, the same Herodotus informs us, in another place*.

III. To come next to the CIVIL ARTS of Egypt. — Concerning their practice of physic, Herodotus says, that it was divided amongst the faculty in this manner: " Every distinct distemper hath its
" own physician, who confines himself to the
" study and cure of that alone, and meddles with
" no other: so that all places are crouded with
" physicians: for one class hath the care of the

ἰδρυῖναι ἱερὸν, ἢ νομᾶ τῷ Θεδαίῳ εἰσὶ, ἔτοι μὲν νῦν πάντες οἷων ἀπε-
χόμενοι, αἰγας δύναι. Θεὸς γὰρ δὴ ἔ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀπάντες ὁμοίως
Αἰγύπιοι σέβονται, πλὴν Ἰσιός τε καὶ Ὀσίριδος. τὸν δὲ Διόνυσον εἶναι
λέγουσι. τῆς τε ὁμοίως ἀπάντες σέβονται. ὅσοι δὲ τῷ Μένδηλος ἔκτενται
ἱερὸν, ἢ νομᾶ τῷ Μενδησίῳ εἰσὶ, ἔτοι δὲ αἰγῶν ἀπεχόμενοι, οὕς δύναι.
cap. xlii.

* Exod. viii. 26.

* lib. ii. cap. 65.

" eyes,

“ eyes, another of the head, another of the teeth,
 “ another of the region of the belly, and another
 “ of occult distempers^y.” After this, we shall
 not think it strange that Joseph’s physicians are
 represented as a number. — *And Joseph com-
 manded his servants, the physicians, to embalm his
 father: and the physicians embalmed Israel^z.* A body
 of these domestics would now appear an extrava-
 gant piece of state, even in a first minister. But
 then, we see, it could not be otherwise, where
 each distemper had its proper physician: so that
 every great family, as well as city, must needs,
 as Herodotus expresses it, swarm with the Fa-
 culty: and a more convincing instance, of the
 grandeur, luxury, and politeness of a people, can-
 not, I think, be well given. But indeed it was
 this circumstance for which the Egyptian nation
 was peculiarly distinguished, not only by the
 earliest greek writers (as we shall see hereafter) but
 likewise by the holy prophets. There is a re-
 markable passage in Jeremiah, where, foretelling
 the overthrow of Pharaoh’s army at the Euphrates,
 he describes Egypt by this characteristic, her skill
 in medicine. *Go up into Gilead, and take balm, O
 virgin the daughter of Egypt: in vain shalt thou
 USE MANY MEDICINES; for thou shalt not be
 cured^a.* The Prophet delights in this kind of
 imagery, which marks out a people by it’s singu-
 larities, or pre-eminence. So again, in this very
 chapter: EGYPT, says he, *is like a FAIR HEIFER,
 but destruction cometh: it cometh from the north.*

^y Ἡ δὲ ἰητρικὴ κατὰ τὰς σφί δέδασται μῆς νέσθ᾽ ἕκαστος ἰητρὸς
 ἔστι, καὶ ἔ πλεονών. πάντα δ' ἰητρῶν ἐστὶ πλέα. οἱ μὲν γὰρ, ὀφθαλμῶν
 ἰητροὶ κατεσέασιν· οἱ δὲ, κεφαλῆς· οἱ δὲ, ὀδόντων· οἱ δὲ, κατὰ νηδύν·
 οἱ δὲ, τῶν ἀφανέων νέσων. lib. ii. c. 84.

^z GEN. 1. 2.

^a JEREM. xlii. 11.

Also her hired men are in the midst of her like FATTED BULLOCKS, for they also are turned back and are fled away together^b. For the worship of Isis and Osiris, under the figure of a cow and a bull, and afterwards by the animals themselves, was the most celebrated in all the egyptian Ritual.

But a learned writer, frighten'd by the common panic of the high antiquity of Egypt, will needs shew, the art of medicine to be of much later original^c. And to make room for his hypothesis, he contrives to explain away this direct testimony of Herodotus, by a very uncommon piece of criticism. This is the substance of his reasoning, and in his own words: — “ We read of the
 “ egyptian phyficians in the days of Joseph ; and
 “ Diodorus represents them as an order of men
 “ not only very ancient in Egypt, but as having
 “ a full employment in continually giving phyfic
 “ to the people, not to cure, but to prevent their
 “ falling into distempers. Herodotus says much

^b JEREM. xlv. 20, 21.

^c I cannot forbear on this occasion to commend the ingenuous temper of another learned writer, far gone in the same system : who, having said all he could think of to discredit the antiquity and wisdom of Egypt, concludes in this manner. —
 “ Tandem quæres, in qua doctrina Ægyptiorum propter quam
 “ tantopere celebrati erant in *ipsis Scripturis*, viz. 1 Reg. c. iv.
 “ com. 30. et vii. *actorum*, com. 22. Respondeo, non nego
 “ magnos *Philosophos*, *Geometras*, & *MEDICOS*, et aliarum
 “ artium peritos fuisse in Egypto, tempore Mosis, et postea
 “ quoque. Sed sensim et gradatim illa doctrina exolevit, ut
 “ omnino nihil aut parum ejus permanferit.” — G. Jameson,
Spicilegia Antiq. Ægypt. p. 400—1. — You will ask now,
 What is become of his system ? No matter. He is true to a
 better thing, the sacred Text : for the sake of which he took up
 the system ; and for the sake of which, upon better information,
 he lays it down again : and, like an honest man, sticks to his
 Bible at all hazards.

“ the same thing, and represents the ancient Egyp-
“ tians as living under a continual course of physic,
“ undergoing so rough a regimen for three days
“ together, every month, that I cannot but
“ suspect some mistake, both in him, and Diodo-
“ rus’s account of them in this particular. Hero-
“ dotus allows them to have lived in a favour-
“ able climate, and to have been a healthy people,
“ which seems hardly consistent with so much me-
“ dicinal discipline as he imagined them to go
“ through, almost without interruption. The
“ first mention we have of physicians in the sacred
“ pages shews indeed that there was such a pro-
“ fession in Egypt in Joseph’s time, and Jacob
“ was their patient; but their employment was to
“ embalm him after he was dead; we do not read
“ that any care was taken to give him physic
“ whilst alive; which inclines me to suspect that
“ the Egyptians had no practice for the cure of the
“ diseases of a sick bed in these days: we read of
“ no sick persons in the early ages. The diseases
“ of Egypt, which the Israelites had been afraid
“ of, were such as they had no cure for; and
“ any other sicknesses were then so little known,
“ that they had no names for them.—An early
“ death was so unusual, that it was generally re-
“ marked to be a punishment for some extraor-
“ dinary wickedness. Moses informs us, that
“ the physicians embalmed Jacob; many of them
“ were employed in the office, and many days
“ time was necessary for the performance, and
“ different persons performed different parts of it,
“ some being concerned in the care of one part of
“ the body, and some of the other: and I imagine
“ this manner of practice occasioned Herodotus
“ to hint, that the Egyptians had a different
“ physician for every distemper, or rather, as his
“ subsequent

“ subsequent words express, for each different
 “ part of the body: For so indeed they had, not
 “ to cure the diseases of it, but to embalm it
 “ when dead. These, I imagine, were the offices
 “ of the egyptian physicians in the early days.
 “ They were an order of the ministers of religion.
 “ The art of curing distempers or diseases was not
 “ yet attempted.—We may be sure the physicians
 “ practised only surgery until after Homer’s time;
 “ —for we read in him, that his whole art consisted
 “ in extracting arrows, healing wounds, and pre-
 “ paring anodynes.—In the days of Pythagoras
 “ the learned began to form rules of diet for the
 “ preservation of health, and to prescribe in this
 “ point to sick persons, in order to assist towards
 “ their recovery. And in this, Strabo tells us
 “ consisted the practice of the ancient indian phy-
 “ sicians. They endeavoured to cure distempers
 “ by a diet regimen, but they gave no physic.
 “ Hippocrates — began the practice of visiting
 “ sick-bed patients, and prescribed medicines with
 “ success for their distempers. This, I think, was
 “ the progress of physic. — *And it must evidently*
 “ *appear from it, that the Egyptians could have*
 “ *no such physicians in the days of Moses as Diodo-*
 “ *rus and Herodotus seem to suppose*.” — So far
 this writer. But if it be made appear, that the
 very contrary of every thing here advanced be the
 truth; I shall hope, that what Herodotus and
 Diodorus, conformable to Scripture, do not *seem to*
suppose, but directly and circumstantially to affirm,
 may be admitted for certain.

He tells us first, “ that Diodorus represents the
 “ egyptian physicians as administering physic to

^a *The sacred and profane history of the world connected*, vol. ii.
 ed. 2. p. 359, 360, 361, 364, — 367.

Sect. 3. of MOSES demonstrated.

“ the people in the early times, *not to cure, but to*
 “ *prevent their falling into distempers.*” One would
 conclude, from his manner of expression, that
 the historian had said they did not administer to
 the infirm, but to the healthy only; which gives
 us the idea of a superstitious kind of practice, by
 charms and amulets: and so indeed the writer is
 willing we should think of it. *I should imagine, says*
he, that their ancient prescriptions, which Diodorus
and Herodotus suppose them so punctual in observing,
were not medicinal, but religious purifications. Let
 Diodorus then speak for himself: “ They prevent
 “ distempers, says he, and keep the body in
 “ health by refrigerating and laxative medicines;
 “ by abstinence and emeticks; sometimes in a
 “ daily regimen, sometimes with an intermission
 “ every three or four days: for they hold a super-
 “ fluity in all food, as usually taken; and that it
 “ is the original of distempers: so that the above-
 “ mentioned regimen removes the cause, and
 “ greatly contributes to preserve the body in a
 “ state of health ^f.” Here we have a very ratio-
 nal theory, and expert and able practice; this
 prescribing to prevent distempers, being, as
 amongst us, the result of the physician’s long ex-
 perience in his art: for the regimen, we see, was
 intermitted or continued according to the habit and
 constitution of the patient.

*But the Egyptians being a healthy people, and
 living under a favourable climate, could not have oc-*

^e P. 361.

^f Ταὶς δὲ νόσους προκαταλαμβάνοντες θεραπεύουσι τὰ σώματα κλυσμοῖς,
 καὶ ποτίμοις τισὶ καθαρηγίοις, καὶ νηθείαις καὶ ἐαέτοις, ἐνίοτε μὲν καθ’
 ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, ἐνίοτε δὲ τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας ἡμέρας διαλείποντες. Φασὶ γὰρ,
 πάσης τροφῆς ἀναδοθείσης, τὸ πλεον εἶναι περιττόν· ἀφ’ ἧς γενᾶσθαι τὰς
 νόσους· ὥστε τὴν προειρημένην θεραπείαν ἀναιρῶσαν τὰς ἀρχαὶς τῆς νόσου,
 μάλιστ’ αὖ παρασκευάσαι τὴν ὑγίειαν. *Bibl. l. i. p. 52.*

casion

caſion (ſays the learned writer) *for ſo much phyſic*; therefore he will *ſuſpect their accounts*. I have obſerved, that theſe accounts are a proof of that grandeur, luxury, and politeneſs which ſacred and prophane hiſtory aſcribe to this people, and which ſo many other circumſtances concur to make credible. Now a too great repletion, the effect of a luxurious diet, would certainly find employment for the whole tribe of evacuants, (as we may ſee by the various experience of our own times) notwithſtanding all the advantages of climate and conſtitution. And let me obſerve, and it ſeems to be deciſive, that the very eſtabliſhment of this principle of the egyptian phyſic, that *all diſtempers aroſe from a too great repletion*, fully evinces them to be a very luxurious people: for a nation accuſtomed to a ſimple and frugal diet, could never have afforded ſufficient obſervations for the invention of ſuch a theory.

It is true, (he owns) we hear of phyſicians in Joſeph's family, who embalmed his father Jacob; but we do not read they gave him any phyſic while alive.—Nor do we read that Jacob had any other diſtemper than old age; and, I ſuppoſe, Hippocrates himſelf would ſcarce have preſcribed to that.—*But we read of no ſick perſons in the early ages.* A plain man would have thought this a good reaſon why we read of no medicines adminiſtered. Tho' no man, who conſiders the nature of Scripture hiſtory, will think this any proof that there were *no ſick perſons in thoſe early ages.*—But further, *the diſeaſes of Egypt which the Iſraelites had been afraid of, were ſuch as they had no cure for,* DEUT. xxviii. 27. and from hence is inferred the low eſtate of medicine in theſe early times. One would reaſonably ſuppoſe the authority here quoted,

quoted, to support this observation, had informed us that these were natural diseases, which submitted not to the rude practice of that time. But we are surprized to find that they are supernatural punishments which the Prophet is here denouncing in case of disobedience: And Providence would have defeated its own purpose, in suffering these to be treatable by the common rules of art:—"But
 " it shall come to pass, if thou wilt not hearken to
 " the voice of the Lord thy God,—The Lord
 " will smite thee with the botch of Egypt, &c.
 " whereof thou canst not be healed^s." That very *Botch* or *Boyl*, which God had, in their behalf, miraculously inflicted on the Egyptians, by the ministry of this Prophet; as appears by the following words of God himself: "If thou wilt (says
 " he) diligently hearken to the voice of the Lord
 " thy God, &c. I will put none of these diseases
 " upon thee which I have brought upon the Egyp-
 " tians: for I am the Lord that healeth thee^h."—
And all other sicknesses, this learned writer says, *were then so little known, that they had no name for them.* For which we are referred to the following words of the same denunciation, "Also every
 " sickness and every plague which is not written
 " in the book of this law, them will the Lord
 " bring upon thee 'till thou be destroyedⁱ." This seems as if the writer considered the law of Moses in the light of *Salmon's Dispensatory*, in which we reasonably suppose every disease and remedy without name or mention, to be unknown. — And still further, *An early death* (says he) *was so unusual, that it was generally remarked to be a punishment for some wickedness:* and for this we are sent

^s DEUT. xxviii. 15, 27.^h EXOD. xv. 26.ⁱ DEUT. xxviii. 61.

to the xxxviiith chapter of Genesis.—It seems then it was the rarity of the fact, which made men believe the evil to be a punishment. 'Till now I imagined, it was the sense of their being under an extraordinary Providence: it is certain at least, that the book of Genesis as plainly represents the patriarchs, as the book of Deuteronomy represents their posterity to be under that dispensation: and I hope, ere long, to prove these representations true. If then we hear in Scripture of little sicknesses but what is delivered as the effect of divine vengeance, no believer, I persuade myself, will ascribe this opinion to ignorance, superstition, or an unusual appearance, tho' pagan writers be never so much accustomed to talk in that strain^k, but will own it to be the necessary consequence of an extraordinary providence. The truth is, diseases were then, as now, common in the world at large; but the infliction of them, or an exemption from them, amongst the people of God, made part of the sanction of that œconomy under which they lived: —“Ye shall serve the Lord your God,” says MOSES, “and he shall bless thy bread and thy water, and I will take SICKNESS away from thee^l.” And again, “Thou shalt be blessed above all people, — and the Lord will take away from thee all SICKNESS^m.” But there are of these Divines who read their Bible and readily talk of the extraordinary Providence there represented, yet argue in all questions arising from sacred history as if there were indeed no such thing.

^k Eodem auctore [Homero] disci potest, morbos tum ad iram Deorum immortalium relatos esse; & ab iisdem opem posci solitam. *Celsus de Medicina*, lib. i. *Præf.*

^l EXOD. xxiii. 25.

^m DEUT. vii. 14, 15.

The learned writer goes on:—The physicians embalmed Jacob, many of them were employed in the office, and many days time was necessary for the performance, and different persons performed different parts of it, some being concerned in the care of one part of the body, and some of the other.

—This account is pretended to be taken from Diodorus: how the latter part came in, or how it can be true, unless the body were cut in pieces to be embalmed, is not easy to conceive: but we know it was embalmed intire; and Diodorus says nothing of some being concerned in the care of one part of the body, and some of the other. His plain, intelligible account is this: That different persons performed different parts of the operation; one marked the place for incision; another cut; a third drew out the entrails; a fourth salted the body; a fifth washed; and a sixth embalmed it.—But the learned Writer's addition to the account seems for the sake of introducing the extraordinary criticism which follows.

And I imagine, says he, this manner of practice occasioned Herodotus to HINT that the Egyptians had a different physician for every distemper, or rather, as the subsequent words express, for each different part of the body: for so indeed they had, not to cure the diseases of it, but to embalm it when dead.—What he means by Herodotus's hinting

I can hardly tell: for had the historian been to give his evidence in a court of justice, it is impossible he should have delivered himself with more precision. Let us hear him over again: “Every
“ distinct DISTEMPER [ΝΟΥΣΤΟΣ] hath its own
“ physician, who confines himself to the study
“ and cure of that, and meddles with no other;
“ so that all places are crouded with physicians:

“ for one class hath the care of the eyes, another
 “ of the head, another of the teeth, another of
 “ the region of the belly, and another of OCCULT
 “ DISTEMPERS [ΑΦΑΝΕΩΝ ΝΟΥΣΩΝ.]” Notwith-
 standing all this, by *every distemper*, is meant, it
 seems, *each part of a dead body*: Death indeed,
 has been often called a *remedy*, but never, I be-
 lieve, a *disease*, before. — But the *subsequent*
words, he says, *lead us to this sense*. The reader
 will suspect by this, that I have not given him the
 whole of the account: But the *subsequent words*,
 whereby our author would support his interpreta-
 tion, are the beginning of a new chapter about
 funeral rites: — *As to their mournings for the*
*dead, and funeral rites, they are of this kind*ⁿ, &c.
 Now because Herodotus speaks next of their
obsequies, which, methinks, was methodical enough,
 after his account of their physicians, this writer
 would have the foregoing chapter an anticipation
 of the following; and the historian to treat of
 his subject before he comes to it. — He goes
 on: — *For so indeed they had* [*i. e.* a different phy-
 sician for each different part of the body] *not to cure*
the diseases of it, but to embalm it when dead. How
 comes he to know this? Doth Scripture inform
 him that they had a different physician for every
 different part of a dead body? No. They are
 only the greek writers (in his opinion) misunder-
 stood who are supposed to say it. But why will he
 depend so much upon them in their account of fu-
 neral rites, and so little in their account of phyfici-
 ans? Scripture, which says they used embalming,
 and had many physicians, is equally favourable to
 both accounts: But it may be, one is, in itself, more
 credible than the other. It is so; but surely it is that

ⁿ Οἱ ἑῷοι δὲ καὶ ταφαὶ σφέων, εἰσὶ αὐτὲ, &c. l. ii. c. 85.

which tells us they had a different phyſician to every different diſtemper; for we ſee great uſe in this; it being the beſt, nay perhaps the only expedient of advancing medicine into a ſcience. On the other hand, what is ſaid of the ſeveral parts aſſigned to ſeveral men, in the operation of embalming, appears, at firſt view, much more wonderful. 'Tis true, it may be rendered credible; but then it is only by admitting the other account of the egyptian practice of phyſic, which the learned writer hath rejected: for when each diſorder of the body had a ſeveral phyſician, it was natural, it was expedient that each of Theſe who were the embalmers likewise, ſhould inſpect that part of the dead corpe to which his practice was confined; partly to render the operation on the dead body more compleat, but principally, by an anatomical inſpection, to benefit the Living. On this account every interment required a number, as their work was to be divided in that manner, which beſt ſuited the ends of their inſpection. It is true, ſubſequent ſuperſtitious might introduce various practices, in the diviſion of this taſk amongſt the operators, which had no relation to the primitive deſigns.

Theſe I imagine, concludes our writer, *were the offices of the egyptian phyſicians, in the early days; they were an order of the miniſters of religion.*—He then employs ſome pages^o to prove that the egyptian phyſicians were an order of Religious; and the whole amount comes to this, that their practice was intermixed with ſuperſtitious; a circumſtance which hath attended medicine thro' all its ſtages; and ſhall be accounted for in the progreſs

of this enquiry.—But their *office of embalming* is likewise much insisted on: for this being part of the egyptian funeral rites, and funeral rites being part of their religion; the consequence is, that these were religious ministers. The physicians had indeed the care of embalming; and it was, as we have hinted above, a wise designation, if ever there was any: For, first, it enabled the physicians, as we have observed, to discover something of the causes of the ἀφανέων νόσων, the *unknown* diseases, which was the district of one class; and secondly, to improve their skill by anatomical enquiries, into the cause of the *known*, which was the business of the rest. Pliny expressly says, it was the custom of their kings to cause dead bodies to be dissected, to find out the origin and nature of diseases; of which he gives a particular instance^p: and Syncellus, from Manetho, relates, that books of anatomy were written in the reign of the second king of the Thinites.—But to make their employment, in a sacred rite, an argument of their being an order of Religious, would be just as wise as to make the priests of the church of *Rome*, on account of their administering *extreme unction*, an order of physicians. But tho' the learned writer's arguments to support his fanciful opinions be thus defective, yet what he imagined in this case is very true; these physicians were properly an order of the ministers of religion; which (tho' it make nothing for his point, for they were

P — Crudos [raphanos] Medici suadent ad colligenda acria viscerum dandos cum sale jejunis esse, atque ita vomitionibus præparant meatum. Tradunt & præcordiis necessarium hunc succum: quando phthisim cordi intus inhærentem, non alio potuisse depelli compertum sit in ÆGYPTO, REGIBUS CORPORA MORTUORUM AD SCRUTANDOS MORBOS INSECANTIBUS. *Nat. Hist.* lib. xix. cap. 5.

still as properly physicians) I shall now shew by better arguments than those of system-makers, the testimonies of antiquity.—In the most early times of the egyptian monarchy there was no accurate separation of science^a into its distinct branches. The scholiast on Ptolemy's Tetrabiblus expressly tells us, that their ancient writings did not treat separately of medicine, astrology, and religion, but of all these together^r: and Clemens Alexandrinus says, that of forty two books of Mercury, which were the bible of the Egyptians, six and thirty contained all their philosophy; and were to be well studied by the several orders of the priesthood, which he before mentions; the other six, which related entirely to medicine, belonged to the παστοφόροι, *i. e.* such as wore the cloak^s; and these, as in another place he tells us, were an order of ministers of religion^t: and even in Greece, the art of medicine being brought thither from Egypt, went in partnership, during the first ages, with philosophy; tho' the separation was made long before the time which Celsus assigns to it^u,
as

^a See *Div. Leg.* vol. i.

^r Οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐκ ἰδία μὲν τὰ Ἱατρικὰ, ἰδία δὲ τὰ Ἀστρολογικὰ, καὶ τὰ Τελεστικά, ἀλλὰ ἅμα πάντα συνέγραψαν.

^s — δύο μὲν ἔν καὶ τεσσαράκοντα αἱ πᾶν ἀναγκαῖαι τῷ Ἑρμῇ γεγόνασι βίβλοι· ὧν τὰς μὲν λς', τὴν πᾶσαν Αἰγυπτίαν περιεχέσας φιλοσοφίαν, οἱ ποροειρημένοι ἐκμανθάνουσι· τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς ἑξ, οἱ ΠΑΣΤΟΦΟΡΟΙ, ἱατρικὰς ἔσας, Ἔς. — l. vi. *Strom.*

^t --- ΠΑΣΤΟΦΟΡΟΣ δὲ, ἢ τις ἄλλος τῶν ἱεροποιούντων περὶ τὸ τέμενος, σεμνὸν δεδορκώς, Ἔς. --- *Pæd.* l. iii. c. 2. From this passage we understand, that it was an inferior order of the priesthood which practised physic; for such were those who sacrificed.

^u Hippocrates Cous, primus quidem ex omnibus memoria dignis ab studio sapientiæ disciplinam hanc separavit. *De Med.*

as we shall see presently. Thus it appears that these artists were properly both priests and physicians, not very unlike the monk and friar physicians of the late ages of barbarism.

Our author now proceeds to the general history of physic. Let us see if he be more happy in his imaginations here. *We may be sure*, says he, *the physicians practised only surgery 'till after Homer's time.* — What must we say then to the story of Melampus*, who learnt the art of physic and divination in Egypt^y; and cured Proetus's daughters of an atrabilaire disorder, with hellebore, a hundred

l. i. *Præf.* He adds, we see, to save his credit, *ex omnibus memoria dignis*; taking it for granted, that those who were not remembered, were not worth remembering.

* See *Div. Leg.* vol. i. edit. 2^d. p. 361.

^y *Diodorus Siculus*, lib. i. says, that Melampus was in the number of those civilizers of Greece, who went, to fit themselves for that employment, into Egypt: and, as Orpheus proceeded thence a legislator and philosopher; so Melampus, whose bent lay another way, commenced physician and diviner; those two arts being, as we have said, professed together in Egypt. Apollodorus says, he was the first who cured diseases by medicinal potions. τὴν διὰ φαρμακῶν καὶ καθαρμῶν θεραπείαν πρῶτος ἐν-
γηκῶς. --- meaning the first among the Greeks. As this Greek went to Egypt to be instructed in his craft, so we meet with an Egyptian who went to practise the very same trade in Greece:

Ἄπης γὰρ ἐλθὼν ἐκ πέρας Ναυπακλείας,
ΙΑΤΡΟΜΑΝΤΙΣ ΠΑΙΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ, χθόνα
τὴνδ' ἐκκαθαίρει κνωδάλων βροτοφθόρων.

Æsch. Ixer. p. 316. *Stanl. ed.*

As to what is said of his being the son of Apollo, we must understand it in the sense of Homer, where he speaks of the egyptian physicians in general:

ΙΑΤΡΟΣ δὲ ἕκαστος ἐπισαίμενος περὶ πάντων
Ἀνθρώπων ἥ γὰρ ΠΑΙΗΘΟΣ ΕΙΣΙ ΓΕΝΕΘΛΗΣ.

and

and fifty years before the argonautic expedition? But why not 'till after the time of Homer, who wrote not of his own time, but of the trojan, near three hundred years before; and this, in a kind of work which requires decorum, and will not suffer a mixture of later or foreign manners to be brought into the scene? The writer therefore, at least should have said, 'till after the trojan times. But how is even this supported? Why, we read in Homer, that their *WHOLE art consisted in extracting arrows, healing wounds, and preparing anodynes*; and again, where Idomeneus says to Nestor, *That one physician is worth a many other men, for extracting arrows, and applying lenitives to the wound.*

Ἰητροὺς γὰρ ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἀνιάξει, ὃ ἄλλων,
Ἰὺς τ' ἐκλάμνειν, ἐπὶ τ' ἥπια φάρμακα πάσσειν^z.

Homer's speakers rarely talk impertinently. Idomeneus is shewing the use of a physician in an army: now surely, his use on these occasions, consists in healing wounds. The poet therefore chose his topic of recommendation with good judgment; and we may be certain, had he spoken of the use of a physician in a peaceable city, he had placed it in the art of curing distempers: and this is no *imagination*; we shall see presently that he hath in fact done so. In the mean time let me ask, what there is in this passage, which in the least intimates that *the WHOLE art consisted in extracting arrows, and applying anodynes*? But Pliny says so^a, who understands

^z Il. xi. ver. 514, 515.

^a Medicina — Trojanis temporibus clara --- vulnerum tamen duntaxat remediis. *Nat. Hist.* l. xxix. cap. 1. Celsus too talks

derstands Homer to intimate thus much. What then? Is not Homer's poem still remaining; and cannot we see, without Pliny, what inference the rules of good sense authorise us to draw from the poet's words? The general humour of Antiquity, which was strangely superstitious with regard to this Father of the poets^b, may be some excuse for Pliny in concluding so much from his silence; for Homer was their bible; and whatsoever was not read therein, nor could be expressly proved thereby, passed with them for apocryphal. But let us, whose veneration for Homer rises not quite so high, fairly examine the nature of his first great work: This, which is an intire scene of war and slaughter, gave him frequent occasion to take notice of outward applications, but none of internal remedies; except in the history of the pestilence; which being believed to come in punishment from the Gods, was supposed to submit to nothing but religious atonements: not to say, that it was the chirurgical part of healing only that could be mentioned with sufficient dignity. The Greeks were large feeders, and bitter railers; for which excesses, I suppose Machaon, during the ten years siege, administered many a sound emetic and cathartic: but these were no proper ornaments for an epic poem. I said, his

in the same strain: — Quos tamen Homerus non in pestilentia, neque in variis generibus morborum aliquid attulisse auxilii, sed vulneribus tantummodo ferro & medicamentis mederi solitos esse proposuit. Ex quo apparet has partes medicinæ *solas* ab his esse tentatas, easque esse vetustissimas. *De Medicina*, lib. i. *Præf.*

^b — Homerum poetam multiscium, vel potius *cunelarum rerum adprime peritum*. — And again: — Ut *omnis vetustatis certissimus auctor* Homerus docet. This was said by Apuleius, a very celebrated platonic philosopher, in a juridical defence of himself before a preconful of Africa.

subject did not give him occasion to mention inward applications; nor was this said evasively, as shall now be shewn from his second poem, of a more peaceable turn; which, admitting the mention of that other part of the art of medicine, the use of internal remedies, he has therefore spoken in its praise: Helen is brought in giving Telemachus a preparation of opium; which, the poet tells us, she had from Polydamna, the wife of Thon the Egyptian, whose country abounded with medicinal drugs, many of which were salubrious, and many baneful; whence the physicians of that land were more skilful than the rest of mankind.

Τοῖα Διὸς θυγάτηρ ἔχε φάρμακα μελιόεντα,
Ἐσθλα, τὰ οἱ Πολύδαμνα πόρεν Θῶν[Ⓢ] παράκοιτις
Αἰγυπτίῃ, τῇ πλεῖστα φέρει ζείδωρ[Ⓢ] ἄρσρα
Φάρμακα, πολλὰ μὲν ἔσθλα μεμιγμένα, πολλὰ δὲ λυγρὰ.
Ἰήρως δὲ ἕκαστος ἐπισάμενος περὶ πάντων
Ἀνθρώπων· ἧ γὰρ Παιήονός εἰσι γενέθλης[Ⓢ].

Here then is an express testimony much earlier than the time of Homer, for the egyptian physicians practising more than surgery; which was the thing to be proved.

Our author goes on: *In the days of Pythagoras the learned began to form rules of diet for the preservation of health, and to prescribe in this point to sick persons.* This is founded on the rules of diet observed in the pythagoric school. There seems to be something strangely perverse in this writer's way of arguing;—In the case of the egyptian regimen,

^c Odyss. lib. iv. ver. 227, & seq. Clarke on this place of Homer observes that Pliny, lib. xxv. c. 1. quotes this passage as ascribing a knowledge of medicinal herbs to the Egyptians before lower Egypt was inhabited.

tho' it be expressly delivered by the greek writers as a medicinal one, yet by reason of some superstitions in it, our author will have it to be *a religious observance*; on the contrary, this pythagoric regimen, tho' it be generally represented, and even by Jamblichus himself, as a superstitious practice, yet, by reason of its healthfulness, he will have to be *a course of physic*.

He proceeds:—HIPPOCRATES *began the practice of visiting sick-bed patients, and prescribed medicines with success for their distempers*. For which, Pliny is again quoted; who does indeed say he was the founder of the clinic sect: but it is strange he should say so; since Hippocrates himself, in numerous places of his writings, has inform'd us that it was founded long before. His tract *De diæta in acutis*, begins in this manner: “ Those
 “ who have collected what we call the CNIDIAN
 “ SENTENCES, have accurately enough registered
 “ the various symptoms or affections in the several
 “ distempers, with the causes of some of them:
 “ thus far might be well performed by a writer
 “ who was no physician, if so it were, that he
 “ carefully examined each patient about his several
 “ affections. But what a physician should pre-
 “ viously be well instructed in, and what he can-
 “ not learn from his patient, that, for the most
 “ part, is omitted in this work; some things in
 “ this place, others in that; several of which are
 “ very useful to be known in the art of judging
 “ by signs. As to what is said of judging by
 “ signs, or how the cure should be attempted, I
 “ think very differently from them. And it is not
 “ in this particular only that they have not my
 “ approbation: I as little like their practice in
 “ using so small a number of medicines; for the
 “ greatest

“ greatest part they mention, except in acute
 “ distempers, are purgatives, and whey, and milk
 “ for the time: indeed, were these medicines pro-
 “ per for the distempers to which they direct them
 “ to be applied, I should think them worthy of
 “ double praise for being able to attain their
 “ purpose so easily. But this I do not appre-
 “ hend to be the case: however, those who have
 “ since revised and new model’d these *sentences*,
 “ have shewn much more of the physician in their
 “ prescriptions^d.” From this long passage, we
 may fairly draw these conclusions: 1. That there
 was a physic-school at Cnidus: this appears from
 the sentences collected under its name. 2. That
 the cnidian school was derived from the egyptian:
 this appears from their sole use of evacuates, in all
 but acute distempers. 3. That it was now of
 considerable standing; having had a reform in the
 teaching of more able practitioners. 4. And lastly,
 which is most to the point, that the physicians of
 this school were of the clinic sect; it being im-
 possible they should compose such a work as Hip-
 pocrates here criticizes, without a constant at-

^d Οἱ ξυγγραφεὺς τὰς ΚΝΙΔΙΑΣ καλεομένας ΓΝΩΜΑΣ, ὁκοῖα
 μὲν πάσχωσιν οἱ κάμνοντες ἐν ἐκάστοις τῶν νοσημάτων, ὁρθῶς ἔγραψαν,
 καὶ ὁκοῖως ἔνια ἀπέβαινον αὐτέων· καὶ ἄχρι μὲν τῆλέων καὶ μὴ ἡλὸς ἀν-
 δυναίῃ ὁρθῶς ξυγγραφεῖν, εἰ εὖ παρὰ τῶν κάμνόντων ἐκάσθι πυθοίαιτο,
 ὁκοῖα πάσχωσιν· ὁκόσα δὲ προκαταμαθεῖν δεῖ τὸν ἡλόν, μὴ λέγουσι·
 τῷ κάμνοντι, τῆλέων τὰ πολλὰ πάρεσθαι· ἄλλα ἐν ἄλλοις, καὶ ἐπι-
 καιρὰ ἔνια ἰόντα εἰς τέκμαρσιν. ὁκόταν δὲ εἰς τέκμαρσιν λέγῃται ὡς χρὴ
 ἐκάστα ἡλρεύειν, ἐν τῇτέοις πολλὰ ἑτεροίως γινώσκω, ἢ ὡς ἐκεῖνοι
 ἐπεξίεσαν· καὶ ὃ μόνον διὰ τῆτο ἔκ ἐπαινέω, ἄλλ’ ὅτι καὶ ὀλίγοις τὸν
 ἀριθμὸν τοῖσιν ἀκέσιν ἐχρέοντο· τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα αὐτέοις εἰρέσθαι,
 πλὴν τῶν ὀξείων νόσων, φάρμακα ἐλατήρια δίδοναι, καὶ ὀρεόν, καὶ γαλα,
 εἰς τὴν ὥρην πιπίσκειν. ἦν μὲν ἔν ταῦτα ἀγαθὰ ἦν, καὶ ἀρμόζοντα τοῖς
 νοσήμασιν, ἐφ’ οἷσι παρήνεον δίδοναι, πολὺ ἂν ἀξιώτερα ἐπαίνεσθαι ἦν,
 ὅτι ὀλίγα ἰόντα αὐτάρκεια ἔστι· νῦν δὲ ἔχ’ ἕτως ἔχει· οἱ μὲν τοὶ ὑστερον
 ἐπιδιασκευάσαντες ἡλικιώτερον δὴ τι ἐπῆλθον περὶ τῶν προσοισέων
 ἐκάστοισιν.

tendance

tendance on the sick-bed: and therefore Hippocrates was not the founder of this sect, as Pliny, and our author after him, supposed.—But, for the established state of physic, its study as an art, and its practice as a profession, when Hippocrates made so superior a figure, we have the full evidence of Herodotus, his contemporary; who tells us, that in the time of Darius Hytaspis the physic school at Crotona was esteemed by the Greeks, first in reputation; and that, at Cyrene, second^e; which both implies, that these were of considerable standing, and that there were many others: and if GALEN may be believed, who, tho' a late writer, was yet a very competent judge, there were many others^f: so that Hippocrates was so far from being the first that visited sick-beds, and prescribed with success in distempers, that he was not even the first amongst the Greeks. The truth of the matter is this, the *divine old man* (as his disciples have been wont to call him) so greatly eclipsed all that went before him, that, as posterity esteemed his works the canon, so they esteemed him the father of medicine: And this was the humour of antiquity. The same eminence in poetry made them regard Homer as the founder of his art, tho' they who penetrate into the perfection of his compositions, understand that nothing is more unlikely. But what is strange in this matter is, that the writer should think it evidence enough to bring in Pliny speaking of Hippocrates as the first amongst the Greeks who prescribed to sick-beds with success, for the confutation of Herodotus (contemporary with Hippocrates) in what

^e —ἐγένετο γὰρ ὡς τῆτο ὅτε πρῶτοι μὲν Κροτωνιῆται ἰητροὶ ἐλέγοντο αἰὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα εἶναι, δεύτεροι δὲ, Κυρηναῖοι. lib. iii. c. 131.

^f *Meth, Medendi*, lib. i.

he says of the pharmaceutic part of medicine, as an ancient practice in Egypt.

But all the writer's errors in this discourse seem to proceed from a wrong assumption, that the diætetic medicine was, in order of time, before the pharmaceutic: and the greater simplicity of the first method, seems to have led him into this mistake:—*In the days of Pythagoras*, says he, *the learned began to form rules of diet for the preservation of health; and in this consisted the practice of the ancient Indian physicians; they endeavoured to cure distempers by a diet regimen, but they gave no physic. Hippocrates began the practice of visiting sick-bed patients, and prescribed medicines with success for their distempers. This, I think, was the progress of physic.*—I hold the matter to be just otherwise; and that, of the three parts of medicine, the CHIRURGIC, the PHARMACEUTIC, and the DIÆTETIC, the *diætetic* was the last in use; as the *chirurgic* was, in all likelihood, the first. In the early ages of long life and temperance, men were still subject to the common accidents of wounds, bruises, and dislocations; this would soon raise *surgery* into an art: agreeably to this supposition, we may observe, that Sextus Empiricus derives *ιατρός*, a physician, from *ιός*, a dart or arrow; the first attack upon the human species being of this more violent sort. Nor was *pharmacy* so far behind as some may imagine; nature itself often eases a too great repletion by an extraordinary evacuation; this natural remedy (whose good effects as they are immediately felt, are easily understood) would teach men to seek an artificial one, when nature was not at hand to relieve. But the very early invention of pharmacy is further seen from that superstition of antiquity, which made

medicine

medicine the *gift of the Gods*. For, what medicine do they mean? It could not be setting a fracture, or closing the lips of a wound; much less a regular diet. It could be nothing then but pharmacy; and this, both in the invention and operation, had all the advantages for making it's fortune: First, it was not the issue of study, but of chance; the cause of which is out of sight: but what men understand not, they generally ascribe to superior agency. It was believed, even so late as the time of Alexander^g, that the Gods continued to enrich the physical dispensatory. Secondly, there was something as extraordinary in the operation as in the invention. Pharmacy is divided into the two general classes of evacuants and alteratives; the most efficacious of these latter, commonly called *Specifics*, not working by any visible effects of evacuation, do their business like a charm. Thus, as the general notion of the divine original of medicine made the patient very superstitious^h, so the secret operation of alteratives inclined the practiser to the same imbecillity. Hence it is that so much of this folly hath overrun the art of medicine in all ages. Now the bestowing the origine of pharmacy in this manner, is abundantly sufficient to prove its high antiquity; for the Ancients gave nothing to the Gods of whose original they had any records: but where the memory of the invention was lost, as of seed-corn, wine, writing, civil society, &c. there, the Gods seized the property, by that kind of right, which gives strays to the lord of the manorⁱ.
But

^g Cicero de Divin. lib. ii. c. 66.

^h Diis primum inventores suos assignavit, & cœlo dicavit; necnon & hodie multifariam ab oraculis medicina petitur. *Plin. N. H. l. xxix. Proœm.*

ⁱ The Rabbins, amongst their other pagan conceits, adopted this; and taught that God himself instructed *Adam* in the art of medicine;

But now the diætic medicine had a very low original, and a well known man for its author; a man worth a whole dozen of heathen gods, even the great HIPPOCRATES himself: and this we learn from the surest evidence, his own writings. In his tract *de Veteri Medicina*, he expressly says, that MEDICINE was established from the most early times^k; meaning, as the context shews, Pharmacy: but where he speaks soon after in the same tract of the *diætic medicine* (which he calls τέχνη ἡ ἰητρικὴ, as the pharmaceutic above, ἰητρικὴ substantively) he says, the ART OF MEDICINE was neither found out in the most early times, nor sought after^l. And in his *de diæta in acutis*, he tells us, That the ancients (meaning all who had preceded him) wrote nothing of diet worthy notice; and that, notwithstanding it was a matter of vast moment, they had intirely omitted it, altho' they were not ignorant of the numerous subdivisions into the species of distempers, nor of the various shapes and appearances of each^m. Hence it appears, that, before the time of Hippocrates, the visiting of sick-beds and prescribing medicines were in practice; but that the diætic medicine, as an art, was intirely unknown: so that had Pliny called Hippocrates the author of this, instead of the founder of the clinic sect, he had come much nearer to the truth.

medicine;—"Et ductus Adam per omnes Paradisi semitas vidit
 " omne lignum, arbores, plantas, & lapides, & docuit eum
 " Dominus omnem naturam eorum ad sanandum omnem dolo-
 " rem & infirmitatem." R. *Eben Ezra*. Which, however, shews their opinion of the high antiquity of the art.

^k — ἰητρικὴ δὲ πάντα πάλαι ὑπάρχει. c. iii.

^l — τὴν γὰρ ἀρχὴν ἔτ' ἂν εὗρέθη τέχνη ἡ ἰητρικὴ, ἔτ' ἂν ἐζητήθη. cap. v.

^m Ἀτὰρ εὐδὲ περὶ διαίτης οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ξυνέγραψαν εὐδὲν ἄξιον λόγου, καὶ τοὶ μέγα τῷθ' ὠφελησαν. τὰς μὲν τοὶ πολυτροπίας τὰς ἐν ἐκάστῃ τῶν νόσων, καὶ τὴν πολυσχιδὲν αὐτέων ἐκ ἡγνόων. cap. ii.

But without this evidence we might reasonably conclude, even from the nature of the thing, that the *diætic* was the latest effort of the art of medicine. For 1. The cure it performs is slow and tedious, and consequently it would not be thought of, at least not employed, 'till the quick and powerful operation of the pharmaceutic, (which is therefore most obvious to use) had been found to be ineffectual. 2. To apply the diætic medicine, with any degree of safety or success, there is need of a thorough knowledge of the animal œconomy, and of its many various complexions; with long experience in the nature and qualities of aliments, and their different effects on different habits and constitutionsⁿ. But the art of medicine must have made some considerable progress before these acquirements were to be expected in its professors.

If I have been longer than ordinary on this subject, it should be considered, that the clearing up the state of the egyptian medicine is a matter of importance; for if the practice, in the time of Joseph, was what the greek writers represent it, as I think I have shewn it was, then this topic seems absolutely decisive for the high antiquity of Egypt; and the learned person's hypothesis lying in my way, it was incumbent on me to remove it.

ⁿ Φημι δὲ δεῖν τὸν μέλλοντα ὁρθῶς ἐνυγράφειν περὶ διαίτης ἀνθρωπίνης, πρῶτον μὲν παντὸς φύσιν ἀνθρώπου γινῶναι καὶ διαγινῶναι· γινῶναι μὲν, ἀπὸ τίνων ἐκινήθηκεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς· διαγινῶναι δὲ, ὑπὸ τίνων μερῶν κεκράτηται· εἰ μὴ γὰρ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐύστασιν ἐπιγνώσκειν, καὶ τὸ ἐπικρατέον ἐν τῷ σώματι, ἔχ' οἷός τ' ἂν εἴη τὰ συμφερόντα τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ προσενεγκεῖν· ταῦτα μὲν εἴη χρὴ γινώσκειν τὸν ἐνυγράφοι· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, σίτων καὶ ποτῶν ἀπάντων, οἷσι διαιτῶμεθα, δύναμιν ἢν τινα ἕκαστα ἔχει, καὶ τὴν καλὰ φύσιν, καὶ τὴν δι' ἀνάγκην καὶ τέχνην ἀνθρωπινήν· δεῖ γὰρ ἐπίστασθαι τῶν τε ἰσχυρῶν φύσει ὡς χρὴ τὴν δύναμιν ἀφαιρέεσθαι· τοῖσι δὲ ἀσθενέσιν, ὅπως χρὴ ἰσχὺν προσθεῖναι διὰ τέχνης, ὅκα ἂν ὁ καιρὸς ἐκάστων παραγένηται.
Hippocr. de Diæta, lib. i. cap. i.

IV. We

IV. We come, in the last place, to the FUNERAL RITES of Egypt; which Herodotus describes in this manner: “ Their mournings and rites of
“ sepulture are of this kind: When any consider-
“ able person in the family dies, all the females
“ of that family besmear their heads or faces with
“ loam and mire; and so, leaving the dead body
“ in the hands of the domestics, march in proces-
“ sion thro’ the city, with their garments close girt
“ about them, their breasts laid open, beating
“ themselves; and all their Relations attending.
“ In an opposite procession appear the males,
“ close girt likewise, and undergoing the same
“ discipline. When this is over, they carry the
“ body to be salted: there are men appointed for
“ this business, who make it their trade and em-
“ ployment: — They first of all draw out the
“ brain, with a hooked iron, thro’ the nostrils,
“ &c. — after this they hide it in nitre for the
“ space of SEVENTY DAYS, and longer it is not
“ lawful to keep it salted.” Diodorus agrees
with Herodotus in all the essential circumstances of
mourning and embalming. In this last he seems
to vary in one particular: “ They then anoint the
“ whole body with the gum or resin of cedar, and
“ of other plants, with great cost and care, for

Θρηνοὶ δὲ καὶ ταφαὶ σφέων, εἰσὶ αἰδεῖ· τοῖσι ἂν ἀπογένηται ἐκ τῶν
οἰκητῶν ἀνθρώπων, τὰ τις καὶ λόγῳ ἢ, τὸ θῆλυ γένος πάν τὸ ἐκ τῶν
οἰκητῶν τέτων καὶ ὧν ἐπλάσσει τὴν κεφαλὴν ψηλῶ ἢ καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον
καμπύλα ἐν τοῖσι οἰκητοῖσι λιπεῖσαι τὸν νεκρὸν, αὐταὶ ἀνα τὴν πόλιν
τροφώμεναι, τύπτονται ἐπεζωσμένοι, καὶ φαίνονται τὰς μαζὰς· ὧν
δὲ σφι αἱ προσήκουσιν πᾶσαι. ἐτέρωθεν δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες τύπτονται, ἐπε-
ζωσμένοι καὶ ὕτοι· ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσωσι, ἔτω ἐς τὴν ταρίχευσιν
κομίζουσι. Εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ ἐπ’ αὐτῶ τέτω κατέαλαι, καὶ τέχνην ἔχουσι
ταύτην. — πρῶτα μὲν σκολιῶ σιδηρῶ δια τῶν μυζωλήρων ἐξάγουσι τὸν
ἐκκέφαλον, &c. — ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες, ταρίχευουσι λίτρῳ κρύ-
ψαντες ἡμέρας ἑβδομήκοντα· πλεῖνας δὲ τετέων οὐκ ἔστι ταρίχευεσθαι.
lib. ii. cap. 85, 86.

“ ABOVE THIRTY DAYS; and afterwards season-
 “ ing it with myrrh, cinnamon, and other spices,
 “ not only proper to preserve the body for a
 “ long time, but to give it a grateful odour, they
 “ deliver it to the relations^p,” &c. All this
 operose circumstance of embalming, scripture
 history confirms and explains; and not only so,
 but reconciles the seemingly different accounts of
 the two greek writers, concerning the number of
 days, during which the body remained with the
 embalmers: “ And the physicians, says Moses,
 “ embalmed Israel; and FORTY DAYS were ful-
 “ filled for him (for so are fulfilled the days of
 “ those which are embalmed) and the Egyptians
 “ mourned for him THREESCORE AND TEN
 “ DAYS^q.” Now we learn from the two greek
 historians, that the time of mourning was while
 the body remained with the embalmers, which
 Herodotus tells us was seventy days: this explains
 why the Egyptians mourned for Israel threescore
 and ten days. During this time the body lay in
 nitre; the use of which was to dry up all its super-
 fluous and noxious moisture^r; and when, in the
 compass of thirty days, this was reasonably well
 effected, the remaining forty, the ἐφ’ ἡμέρας πλείους
 τῶν τριάκοντα of Diodorus, were employed in anoint-
 ing it with gums and spices to preserve it, which
 was the proper embalming. And this explains the
 meaning of *the forty days which were fulfilled for*

^p Καθόλου δὲ πᾶν τὸ σῶμα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κεδρία καὶ τισιν ἄλλοις
 ἐπιμελείας ἀξίῳσιν ἐφ’ ἡμέρας πλείους τῶν τριάκοντα, ἔπειτα σμύρνη
 καὶ κινναμῶνα, καὶ τοῖς δυναμένοις μὴ μόνον πολὺν χρόνον τηρεῖν, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ τὴν εὐωδίαν παρέχεσθαι δεραπέυοντες, παραδιδόασιν τοῖς συγγενέσι.
 lib. i. Bibl. p. 58.

^q GEN. l. 2, 3.

^r Τὰς δὲ σάρκας τὸ νίτρον καλῶσιν. Herodot. p. 119.

Israel, being the days of those that are embalmed. Thus the two greek writers are reconciled; and they and Scripture mutually explained and supported by one another.

But if it should be said, that tho' MOSES here mentions embalming, yet the practice was not so common as the greek historians represent it, 'till many ages after; I reply, that the company of Ishmaelitish merchants with their camels bearing spicery, balm, and myrrh to carry down into Egypt^s, clearly shews, that embalming was at this time become a general practice.

On the whole, what stronger evidence can any one require of a rich and powerful monarchy, than what hath been here given?—Scripture describes Egypt under that condition, in the times of the Patriarchs, and the egression of their posterity: the greek writers not only subscribe to this high antiquity, but support their testimony by a minute detail of customs and manners then in use, which could belong only to a large and well policied kingdom; and these again are distinctly confirmed by the circumstantial history of MOSES.

But it is not only in what they agree, but likewise in what they differ, that sacred and profane accounts are mutually supported, and the high antiquity of Egypt established. To give one instance: Diodorus expressly tells us, that *the lands were divided between the king, the priests, and the soldiery*^t; and MOSES (speaking of the egyptian famine and its effects) as expressly says that *they were divided between the king, the priests, and the*

^s GEN. xxxvii. 25.

^t L. i. Bibl.

people^u. Now as contrary as these two accounts look, it will be found, upon comparing them, that Diodorus fully supports all that Moses hath delivered concerning this matter. Moses tells us, that before the famine, all the lands of Egypt were in the hands of the king, the priests, and the people; but that this national calamity made a great revolution in property, and brought the whole possessions of the people into the king's hands; which must needs make a prodigious accession of power to the crown. But Joseph, in whom the offices of minister and patriot supported each other, and jointly concurred to the public service^x, prevented, for some time, the ill effects of this accession, by his farming out the new domain to the old proprietors, on very easy conditions. We may well suppose this wise disposition to continue till that new king arose, who knew not Joseph^y; that is,

^u GEN. xlvii.

^x Nothing can be more unjust or absurd than the accusation of Joseph's making the free monarchy of Egypt despotic: for allowing it did indeed at this time suffer such a revolution, who is to be esteemed the author of it but Pharaoh himself? Joseph indeed was prime minister; but it does not appear that his master was of that tribe of lazy monarchs, who intrust their sceptre to the hands of their servants. Moses describes him as active, vigilant, jealous of his authority, anxious for his country, and little indulgent to his officers of state. But the terms in which he invests Joseph in his office, shew that office to be purely ministerial: *Thou shalt be over my house, and according to thy word shall all my people be ruled, ONLY IN THE THRONE WILL I BE GREATER THAN THOU.* [GEN. xli. 40.] *i. e.* thou shalt administer justice, but I will reserve to myself the prerogative of giving law. It is highly reasonable therefore, when we find, in so concise a history as the mosaic, Joseph bidding the people give their money, their cattle, and their lands for bread, to suppose that he only delivered to them the words of Pharaoh, who would supply their wants on no other conditions.

^y EXOD. i. 8.

would obliterate his memory, as averſe to his ſyſtem of policy^z. He, as appears from Scripture, greatly affected a deſpotic government; to ſupport which, he firſt eſtabliſhed, as I collect, a ſtanding militia: and endowed it with the lands formerly the people's; who now became a kind of Villains to this order, which reſembled the Zaims and Timariots of the turkiſh empire; and were obliged to perſonal ſervice: this, and the prieſthood, being the orders of nobility in this powerful empire; and ſo conſiderable they were, that out of either of them, indifferently, as we obſerved before^a, their kings were taken and elected. Thus the property of Egypt became at length divided in the manner, the Sicilian relates: and it is remarkable, that from this time, and not till now, we hear in Scripture of a ſtanding militia^b, and of the king's fix hundred choſen chariots, &c.

S E C T. IV.

HAVING thus proved the high antiquity of Egypt from the concurrent testimony of ſacred and profane hiſtory; I go on, as I propoſed, to evince the ſame from internal evidence; taken from the original uſe of their ſo much celebrated HIEROGLYPHICS.

But to give this argument its due force, it will be neceſſary to trace up hieroglyphic writing to its original; which a general miſtake concerning its

^z In this ſenſe is the phraſe frequently uſed in Scripture, as JUDGES ii. 10. — “ And there aroſe another generation after “ them, which *knew not* the Lord, nor yet the works which “ he had done for Iſrael.”—Here, *knew not*, can only ſignify *deſpiſed, ſet at nought*.

^a See the firſt vol.

^b EXOD. xiv. 8, 9.

primeval use, hath rendered extremely difficult. The mistake I mean, is that which makes the hieroglyphics to be invented by the egyptian priests, in order to hide and secrete their wisdom from the knowledge of the vulgar^c: a mistake which hath involved this part of ancient learning in much obscurity and confusion.

I.

Men soon found out two ways of communicating their thoughts to one another; the first by SOUNDS, and the second by FIGURES: for there being frequent occasion to have their conceptions either perpetuated, or communicated at a distance, the way of figures or characters was next thought upon, after sounds (which were momentary and confined) to make their conceptions lasting and extensive.

^c This is the general sentiment of Antiquity; and as generally embraced by modern writers. Kircher makes it the foundation of his *Theatrum Hieroglyphicum*, and so consequently hath written a large volume full of the most visionary interpretations. The great principle, he goes upon, as he himself tells us, is this: — Hieroglyphica Ægyptiorum doctrina nihil aliud est, quàm Arcana de Deo, divinisque Ideis, Angelis, Dæmonibus, cæterisque mundanarum potestatum classibus ordinibusque scientia, SAXIS potissimum insculpta. *Oedipus Ægyptiacus*, tom. iii, p. 4. Dr. Wilkins follows the received opinion in the general division of his subject, in his *Essay towards a real character*: For speaking of notes for secrecy, such (says he) were the egyptian hieroglyphics. — Yet he adds, with his usual penetration, — it seems to me questionable whether the Egyptians did not at first use their hieroglyphics as a mere shift for the want of letters, as was done by the Mexicans, p. 12. — And this was all his subject led him to say of the Egyptian Hieroglyphics. Servius had gone further, and asserted the priority of hieroglyphics without a doubt. Annus enim secundum Ægyptios indicabatur, ante inventas literas, picto dracone caudam suam mordente. *apud Virg. Æn.* l. v. ver. 85.

The first and most natural way of communicating our thoughts by marks or figures, is by tracing out the images of things. So the early people, to express the idea of a man or horse, delineated the form of those animals. Thus the first essay towards writing was a mere picture.

I. We see an example of this amongst the MEXICANS, whose only method of recording their laws and history, was by a picture-writing^d. Joseph Acoſta tells us, that, when the inhabitants of the sea shore sent expressees to Montezuma with news of the first appearance of the spanish navy on their coasts, the advices were delineated in large paintings, upon cloth^e. The same writer gives us, in another place, a more particular account of this sort of painting: “ One of our company
“ of Jesus (says he) a man of much experience
“ and discernment, assembled in the province of
“ Mexico the Ancients of Tuscuco, Tulla, and
“ Mexico; who, in a long conference held with
“ him, shewed him their records, histories, and

^d In difetto di lettere usarono gl' ingegnosi Mexicani figure, e *Geroglifici*, per significar le cose corporee, che han figura; e per lo rimanente, altri caratteri propri: e in tal modo segnavano, a prò della posterità, tutte le cose accadute. Per ragion d' esemplo per significare l' entrata degli Spagnuoli dipinsero un' uomo col cappello, e colla veste rossa, nel segno di Canna ch' era proprio di quell' anno. *Giro del Mondo del Dottor D. Gio Fr. Gemelli Careri, tom. sesto. Arº. Nuova Spagna, cap. vi. p. 37.*

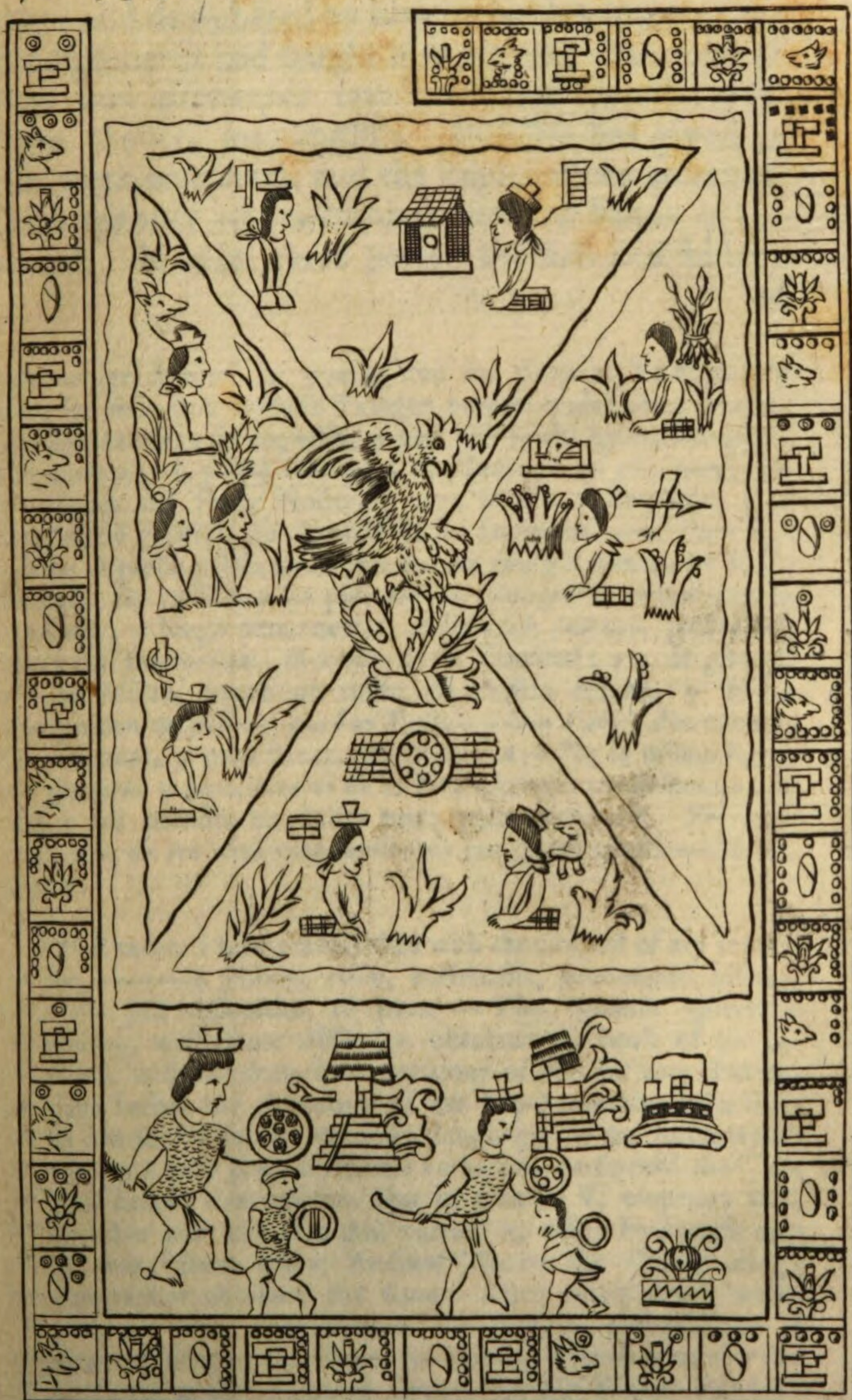
^e — Quando era caso de importancia lleuauana a los Señores de Mexico pintado el negocio de que les querian informar; como lo hizieron quando aparecieron los primeros navios de Españoles, y quando fueron a tomar a Toponchan. *Acoſta's hist. of the Indies, Madr. 1608. 4^{ta}. lib. vi. cap. 10.* — Con este recado fueron a Mexico los de la costa lleuando pintado en unos paños todo quanto auian visto, y los navios, y hombres, y su figura, y juntamente las piedras que les auian dado. lib. vii. cap. 24.

“ calendars; things very worthy notice, as con-
 “ taining their figures and hieroglyphics, by which
 “ they painted their conceptions in the follow-
 “ ing manner: things that have a bodily shape,
 “ were represented by their proper figures; and
 “ those which have none, by other significative
 “ characters: and thus they writ or painted every
 “ thing they had occasion to express.—For my own
 “ satisfaction I had the curiosity to inspect a pater-
 “ noster, an ave-maria, the creed and a general
 “ confession^f, written in this manner by the
 “ Indians:—To signify these words, *I a sinner*
 “ *confess myself*, they painted an Indian on his
 “ knees before a religious in the act of one con-
 “ fessing: and then for this, *To God almighty*,
 “ they painted three faces adorned with crowns,
 “ representing the trinity; and, *To the glorious*
 “ *virgin Mary*, they delineated the visage of our
 “ lady, with half a body, and the infant in her
 “ arms; *To St. Peter and St. Paul*, two heads ir-
 “ radiated, together with the keys and sword, &c.—
 “ In Peru I have seen an Indian bring to the con-
 “ fessional a confession of all his sins written in the
 “ same way, by picture and characters; portray-
 “ ing every one of the ten commandments after a
 “ certain manner^g.”

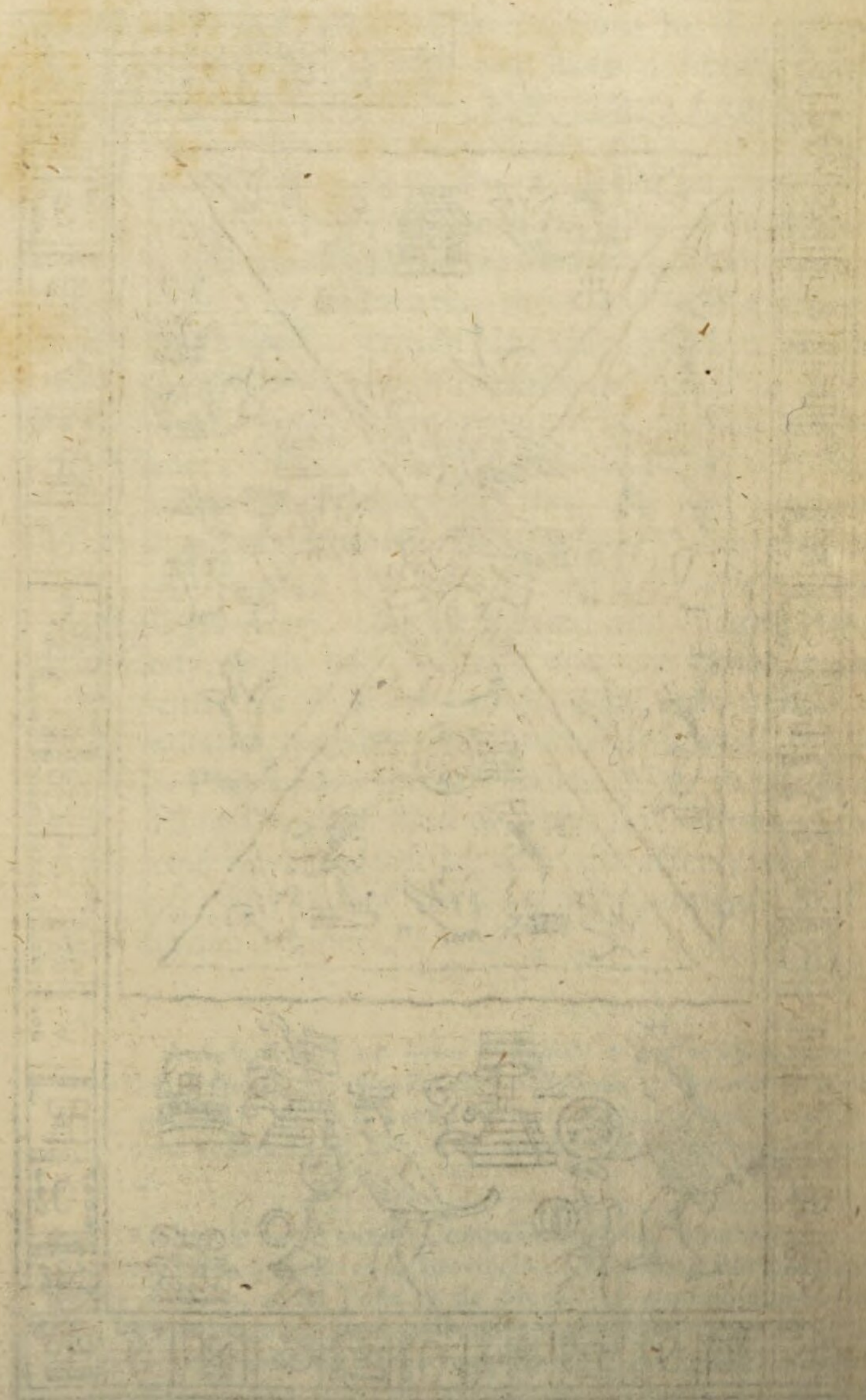
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^f *Acosta's* words are, — *y simbolo y la confession general*, which Purchas has translated, — *and symbol or general confession of our faith*. This is wrong: by *la confession general* is meant a general confession of sins, a formulary very different from the *creed*.

^g Una de los de nuestra Compañia de Jesus, hombre muy platico y diestro, junto en la provincia de Mexico a los Ancianos de Tuscuco, y de Tulla, y de Mexico, y confirió mucho con ellos, y le mostraron sus Librerias, y sus Historias, y Kalendarios, cosa mucho de Ver. Porque tenian sus figuras, y Hieroglyphicas con que pintauam las cosas en esta forma, que las cosas
 que



A Mexican Picture History of the 51 years Reign of their Monarch Tenuch. From Purchas.



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILL. U.S.A.

There is yet extant a very curious specimen of this american picture-writing, made by a mexican author; and deciphered by him in that language, after the Spaniards had taught him letters; the explanation was afterwards translated into spanish, and, from thence, into english. Purchas has given us this work engraved, and the explanations annexed. The manner of its coming into his hands is curious^h. It is in three parts; the first is a history of

que tenian figuras, las ponian con sus proprias Ymages, y para las cosas que no auia Ymagen propria tenian otros caracteres significatiuos de aquello, y con este modo figurauam quanto queriam — e yo he visto para satisfazerme en esta parte, las Oraciones del Pater Noster, y Ave Maria, y Symbolo, y la Confession general, en el modo dicho de Indios. — Para significar Aquella palabra, *Yo pecador me confieso*, pintan un Indio hincado de rodillas a los pies de un Religioso; como que se confiesa; y luego para aquella, *A Dios todo poderoso*, pintan tres caras con sus coronas, al modo de la Trinidad; y a la gloriosa *Virgen Maria*, pintan un rostro de nuestra Señora, y medio cuerpo con un Niño; y a *San Pedro y a San Pablo*, dos cabeças con coronas, y unas llaues, y una espada. — Por la misma forma de pinturas y caracteres vi en el Piru escrite la confession que de todos sus pecados un Indio traya para confesarse. Pintando cada uno de los diez mandamientos por cierto modo. — lib. vi. cap. 7.

^h “ Reader, I here present thee with the choicest of my jewels,
 “ &c. — a politic, ethic, ecclesiastic, oeconomic history,
 “ with just distinction of time. — The Spanish governor
 “ having, with some difficulty, obtained the book of the In-
 “ dians, with mexican interpretations of the pictures (but ten
 “ days before the departure of the ships) committed the same
 “ to one skilful in the mexican language, to be interpreted;
 “ who in a very plain stile, and verbatim, performed the same.
 “ This history thus written, sent to Charles V. emperor, was,
 “ together with the ship that carried it, taken by French men
 “ of war; from whom Andrew Thevet the French king’s
 “ geographer obtained the same. After whose death master
 “ Hakluyt (then chaplaine to the English embassadour in
 “ France) bought the same for twenty French crowns; and
 “ procured master Michael Locke, in Sir Walter Raleigh’s
 “ name,

of the mexican empire; the second, a tribute roll, of the several tributes which each conquered town or province paid into the royal treasury; and the third, a digest of their civil law; the largest branch of which was, *de jure patrio*.

This was the first, and most simple way of recording their conceptionsⁱ; obvious to every one, and common not only to the north as well as south Americans, but to all mankind^k.

II.

But the inconveniencies attending the too great bulk of the volume in writings of this kind would soon set the more ingenious and better civi-

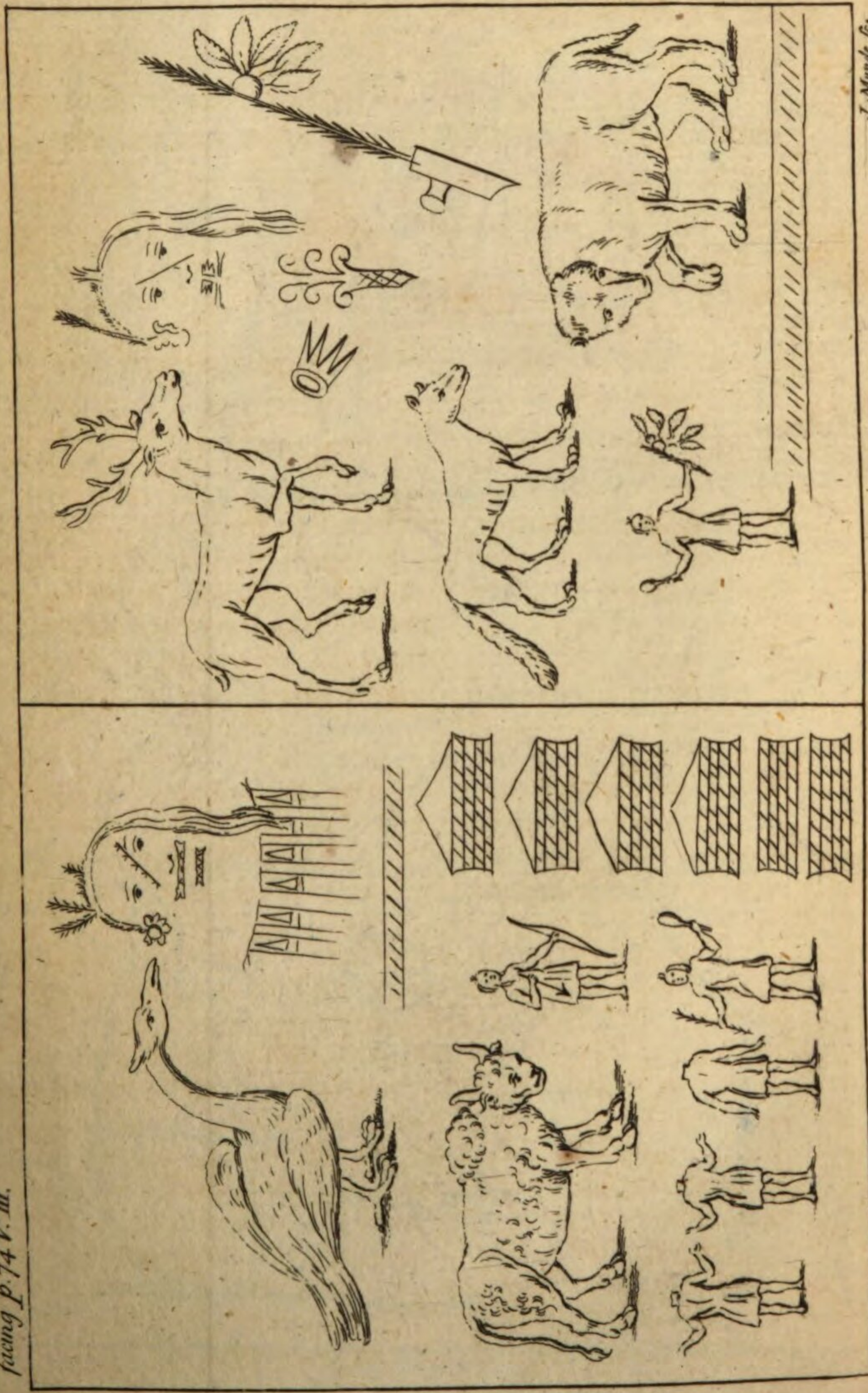
“ name, to translate it. It seems that none were willing to be
“ at the cost of cutting the pictures, and so it remained
“ amongst his papers till his death: whereby (according to his
“ last will in that kind) I became possessour thereof, and have
“ obtained, with much earnestness, the cutting thereof for
“ the press.” *Purchas's Pilgr.* 3^d. part, p. 1065, 1066. See plate I.

ⁱ Quant aux caracteres, ils n'en avoient point: et ils y suppleoient par des especes d'hieroglyphes. Charlevoix of the northern Americans, vol. v. p. 292. Lafateau gives us a specimen of these hieroglyphics. [See plate II.]

^k The same kind of characters Strahlenberg found upon rocks in Siberia in the province of Permia, and near the river Jenesei. Of which he has given a drawing. [See plate III.] The author *De vet. lit. Hunn. Scyth.* p. 15. seems to admire this natural expression of things, as some uncommon stretch of invention. “ Miratus ego sæpe fui caupones idiotas (nempe in
“ Hungaria) istis, quibus aliquid credere hujusmodi ficto cha-
“ ractere inter debitores non adscribere tantum, sed longioris
“ etiam temporis intervallo post, non fecus, quam si alphabe-
“ thario scribendi genere adnotati fuissent, promere, debitamque
“ summam & rationes indicare potuisse; ita si debitor miles est,
“ rudi quadam linea frameam aut pugionem pingebant; si faber,
“ malleum aut securim; si auriga, flagrum, atque sic porro.”

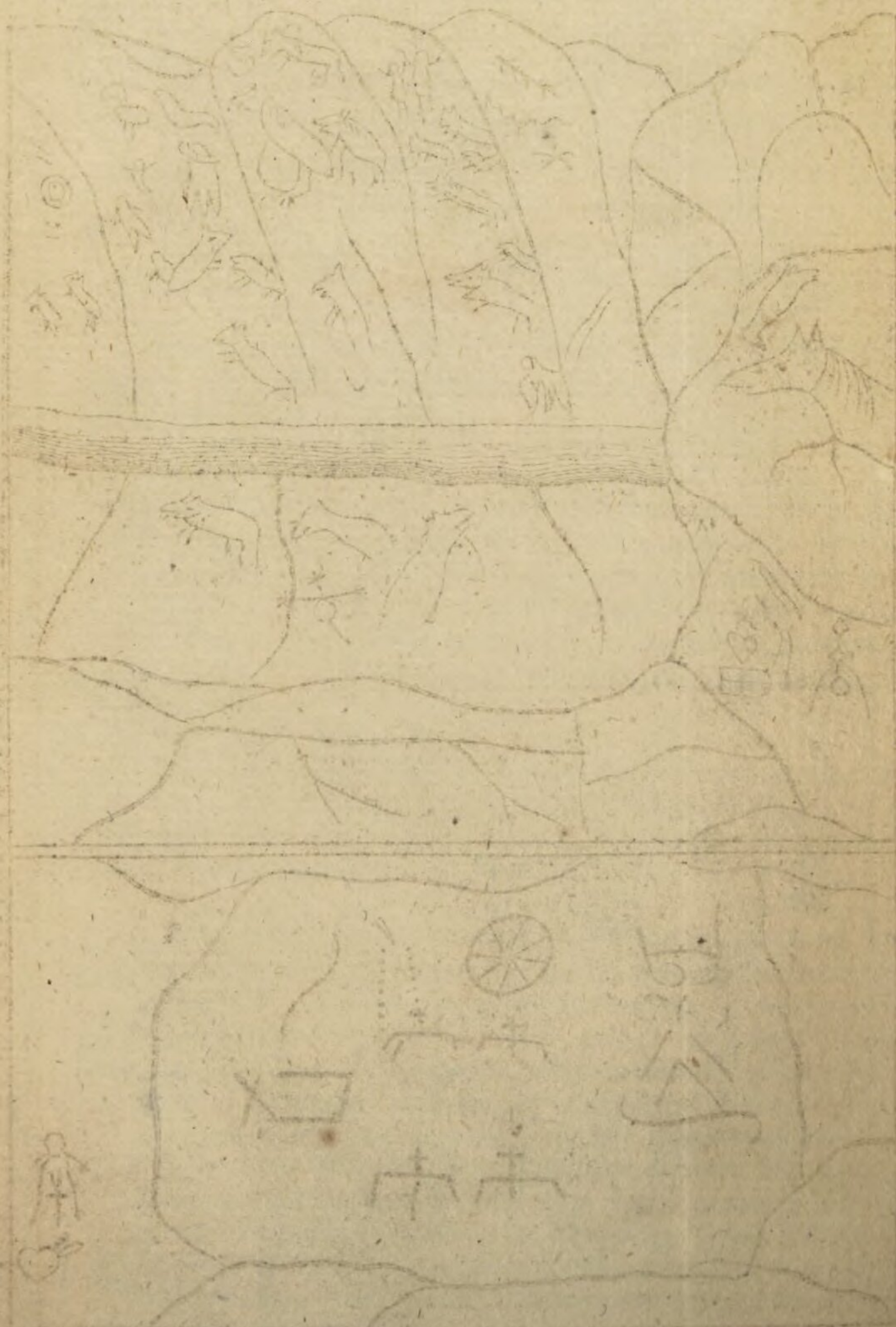
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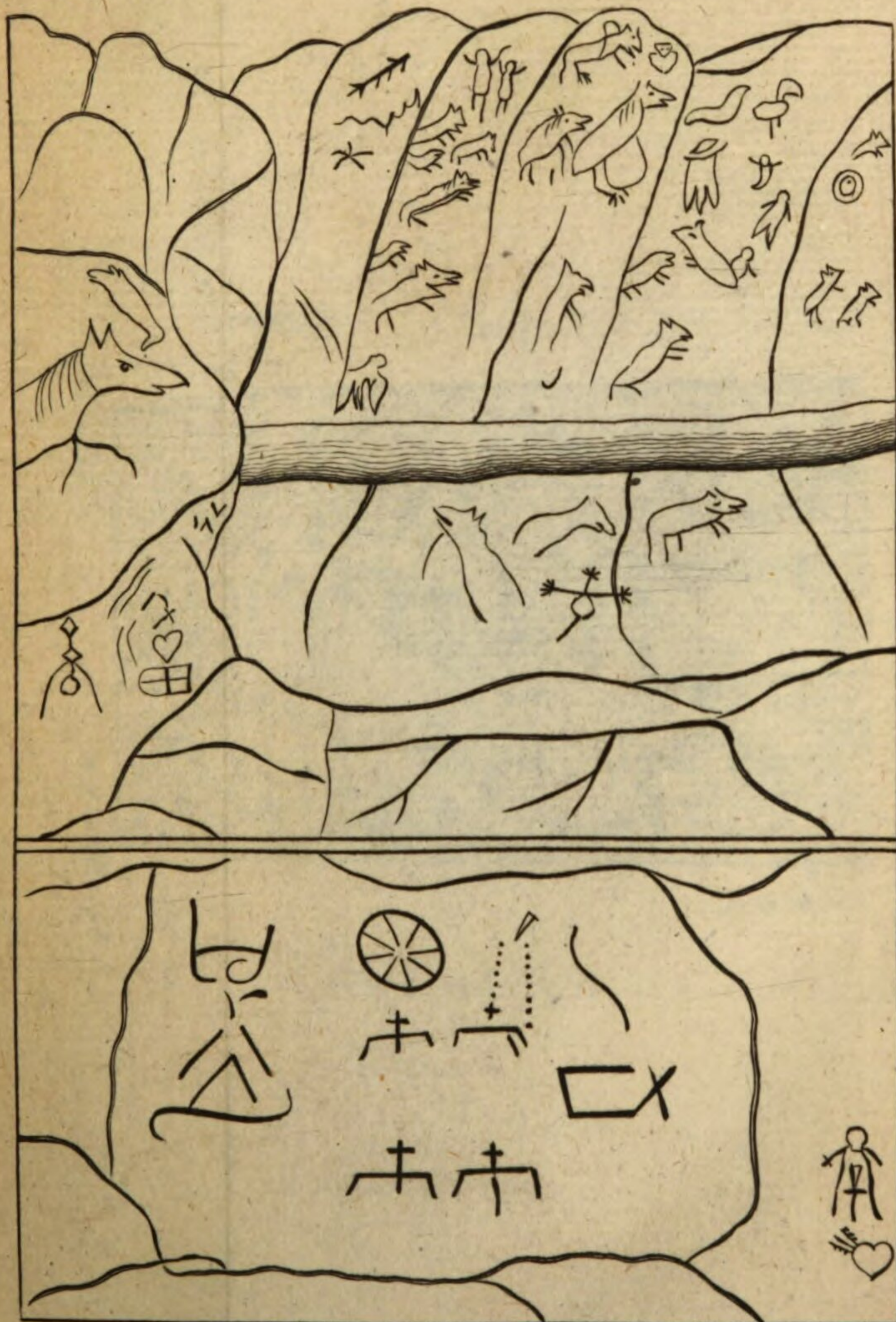
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J. Myrda sc.

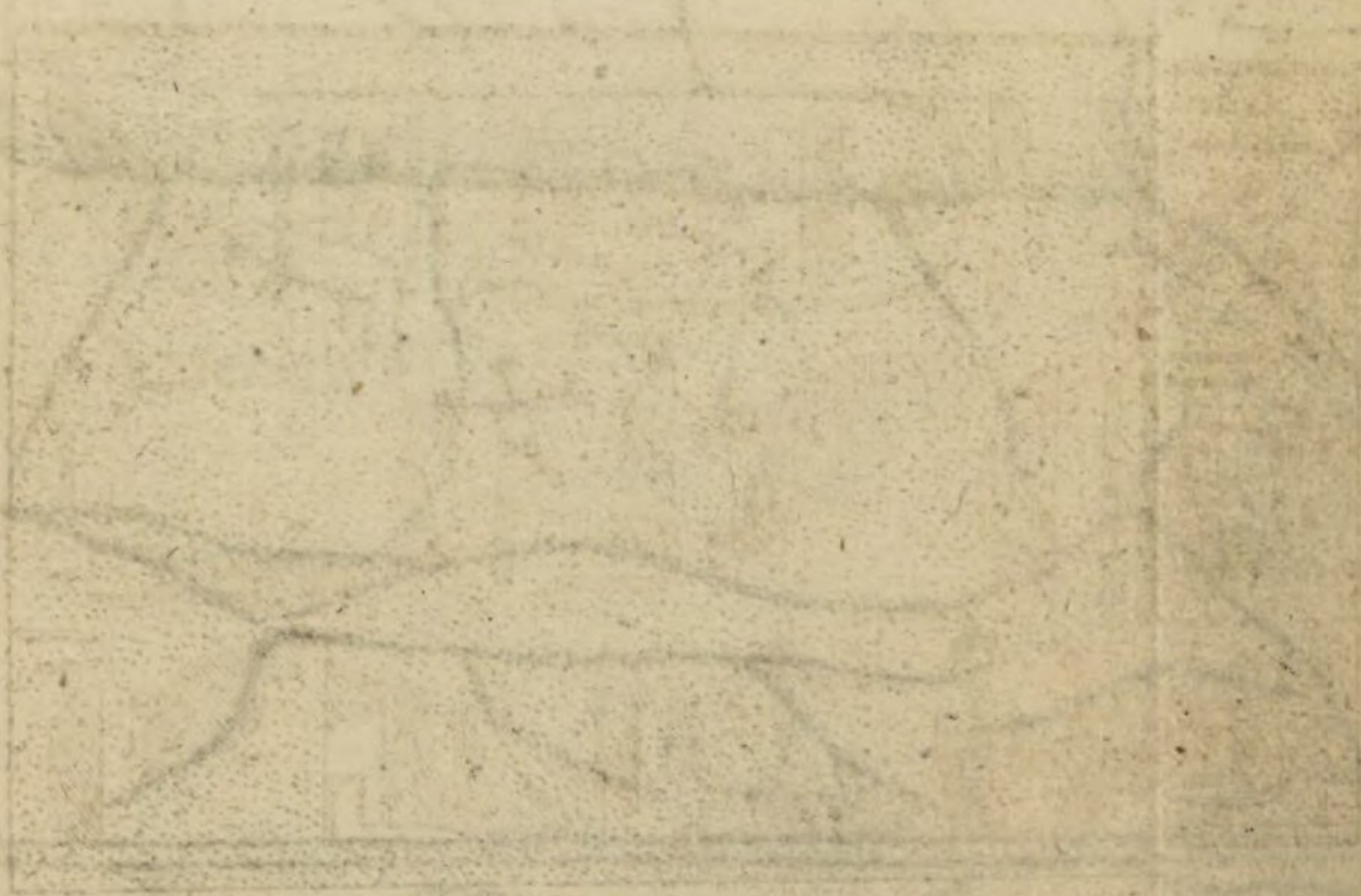
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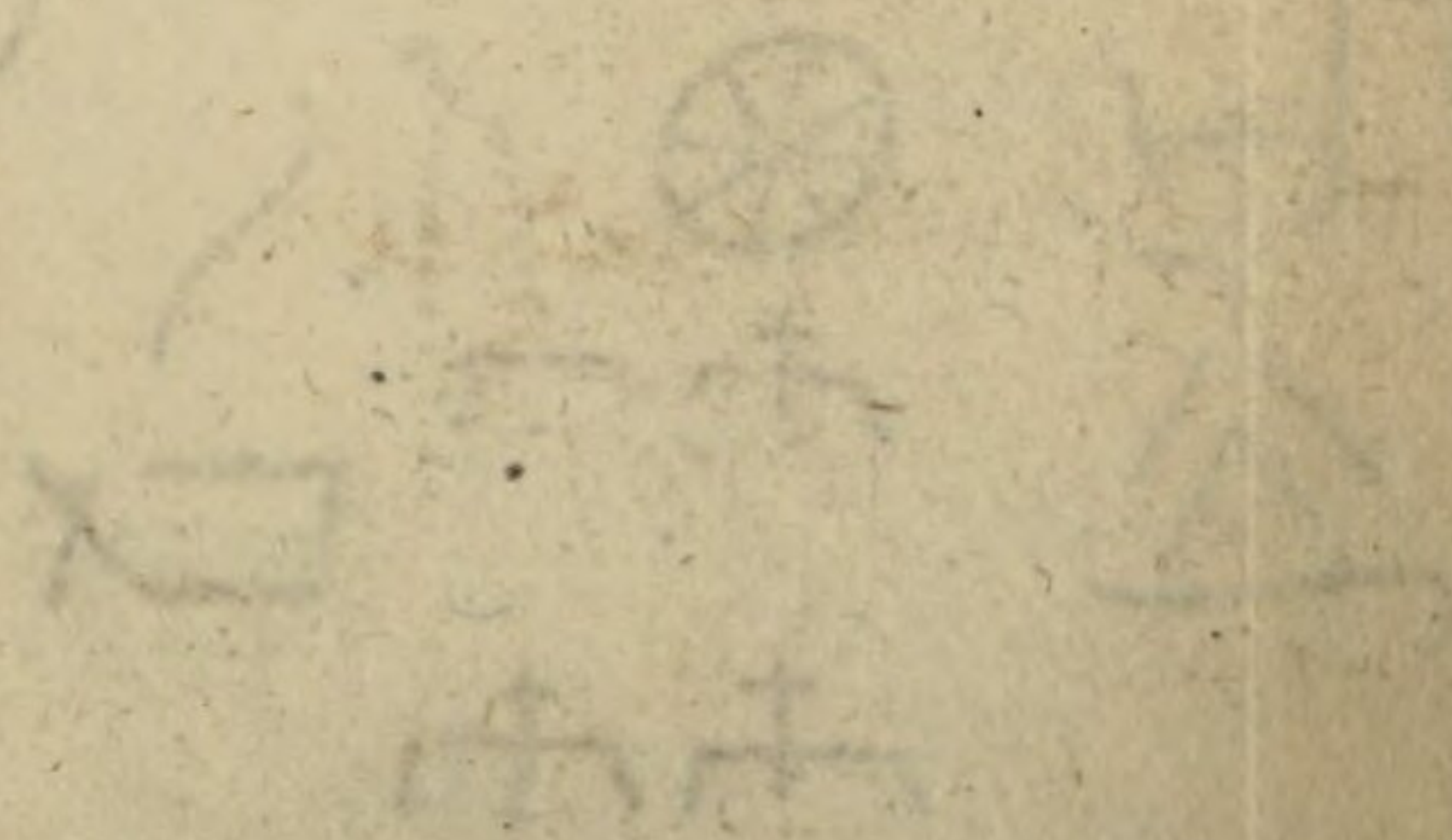


北緯

東經



南緯



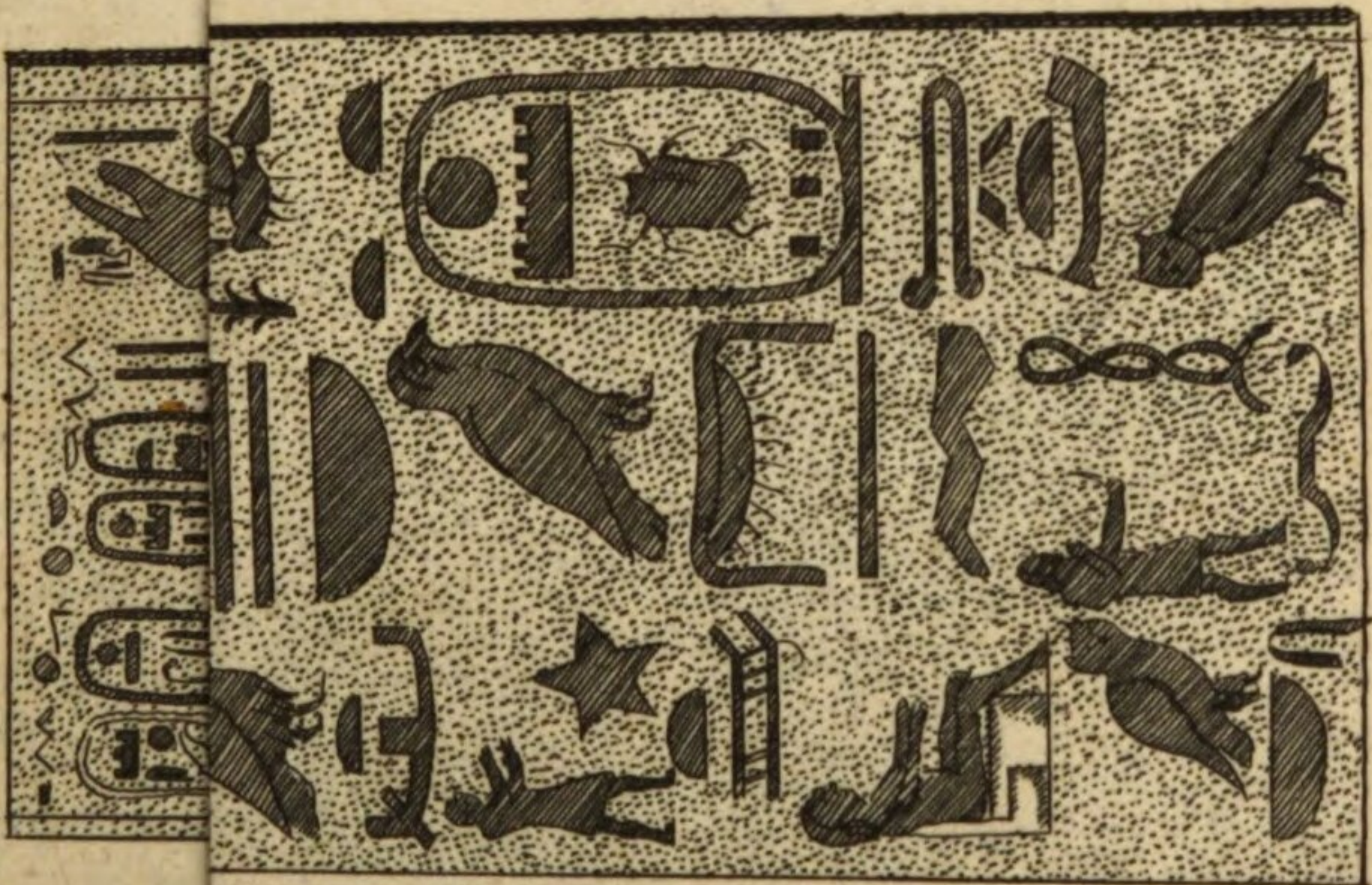
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PLATE IV.

facing p. 75. V. III.



J. Mynde sc.

lized people upon contriving methods to abridge their characters: and of all the improvements of this kind, that which was invented by the EGYPTIANS, and called HIEROGLYPHICS, was by far the most celebrated. By this contrivance, that writing, which amongst the Mexicans was only a simple painting, became in Egypt a pictured character¹.

This abridgment was of three kinds; and, as appears, from the more or less art, employed in the contrivance of each, made by due degrees; and at three different periods.

1. The first way was, *To make the principal circumstance in the subject stand for the whole.* Thus when they would describe a battle, or two armies in array, they painted (as we learn from that admirable fragment of antiquity, the hieroglyphics of Horapollon) *two hands, one holding a shield, and the other a bow^m*; when a tumult, or popular insurrection,—*an armed man casting arrowsⁿ*; when a siege, —*a scaling ladder^o*. This was of the utmost simplicity; and consequently, we must suppose it the earliest way of turning painting into an hieroglyphic; that is, making it a picture-character. And this is what we shall hereafter distinguish by the name of the CURIOLÓGIC HIEROGLYPHIC.

2. The second, and more artful method of contraction, was by putting the instrument of the thing, whether real or metaphorical, for the thing itself. Thus an *eye*, eminently placed, was de-

¹ See plate IV.

^m Horapoll. Hierogl. lib. ii. cap. 5. Ed. Corn. De Pauw, Traj. ad Rhen. 1727, 4^{to}. ⁿ Id. l. ii. c. 12.

^o Id. l. ii. c. 28.

signed to represent God's omniscience^p; an *eye and sceptre*, to represent a monarch^q; a *sword*, their cruel tyrant Ochus^r; and a *ship and pilot*, the governor of the universe^s. And this is what we shall call the TROPICAL HIEROGLYPHIC.

3. Their

^p Clem. Alex. Strom. l. v.

^q Plutarch. Is. & Osir.

^r Id. ib.

^s *Jamblicus*. The *ship and pilot*, bearing this signification, would, of course, be much used in the descriptions of their mysteries, in which, as we have shewn, the knowledge of the Governor of the universe was part of the ἀπορρητὰ; and so we find it more than once delineated in the *Bembin table*. Kircher, according to custom, makes it full of sublime knowledge; but the plain truth is no more than this above. — Tacitus, speaking of the religion of the Suevians, says they worshiped Isis; he could not conceive how this came about, only the figure of a galley, under which image she was represented, shewed that the worship was imported from abroad. “Pars suevorum & ISIDI sacrificat: unde causa & origo peregrino sacro, parum comperi, nisi quod signum ipsum, in modum LIBURNÆ figuratum, docet advectam religionem.” *De Morib. Germ.* c. ix. The latter part of which period Mr. Gordon has thus translated, *unless the figure of her image formed like a galley shewed, &c.* But *nisi quod* does not signify *unless*, as implying any doubt, but *saving only*. So the same author, *De Mor. Ger.* c. xxv. “Occidere solent non “disciplina et severitate, sed impetu et ira, ut inimicum, “*nisi quod* impune.” Tacitus could tell no more of the original than this, that the worship of Isis was imported, because her image was made in the figure of a galley. In this he was positive: but for all this, not the less mistaken. It was indeed imported; but the galley was no mark of that original. Strabo tells us, in his fourth book, that, in an island near Britain, they performed the same mysterious rites to Ceres and Proserpine as were used in Samothrace. Ceres and Isis were the same. The phenician seamen, without doubt, brought them thither, as likewise to the Suevians inhabiting the coasts of the german ocean. The governor of the universe was taught in these mysteries. Isis was represented by the later Egyptians to be the governor of the universe, as we have seen before, in a discourse on the metamorphosis of Apuleius. But the governor of the universe was delineated, in their hieroglyphics, by a *ship and pilot*. Hence, amongst the Suevians, Isis was worshiped under the form

3. Their third, and still more artificial method of abridging picture-writing, was, by making one thing to stand for, or represent another, where any quaint resemblance or analogy, in the representative, could be collected from their observations of nature, or their traditional superstitions. And this was their SYMBOLIC HIEROGLYPHIC.

Sometimes it was founded in their observations on the form, or on the real or imaginary natures and qualities, of Beings. Thus the universe was designed by a *serpent in a circle*, whose variegated spots signified the stars¹; and the sun-rise by the *two eyes of the crocodile*, because they seem to emerge from its head^u; a widow who never admits a second mate, by a *black pigeon*^x; one dead of a fever, contracted by the over great solar heat, by a *blind scarabæus*^y; a client flying for relief to his patron, and finding none, by a *sparrow and owl*^z; a king inexorable, and estranged from his people, by an *eagle*^a; a man who exposes his children through poverty, by an *hawk*^b; a wife who hates her husband, or children who injure their mother, by a *viper*^c; one initiated into the mysteries, and so

form of a galley, and not because her religion was of foreign growth: And so amongst the Romans, which Tacitus did not advert to. For in the *calendarium rusticum* amongst the inscriptions of Gruter, in the month of March, an egyptian holyday is marked under the title of ISIDIS NAVIGIUM. The ceremonies on this holyday are described in *Apuleius Met.* l. ii. — It was a festival of very high antiquity amongst the Egyptians; and seems to be alluded to in these words of the Prophet Isaiah:—*Wo to the land shadowing with wings—that sendeth ambassadors by the sea even in VESSELS OF BULRUSHES upon the waters, saying, Go ye swift messengers, &c.* chap. xviii. ver. 1, 2.

¹ *Horap. Hierogl.* l. i. c. 2.

^u l. i. c. 68.

^x l. ii. c. 32.

^y l. ii. c. 41.

^z l. ii. c. 51.

^a l. ii. c. 56.

^b l. ii. c. 99.

^c l. ii. c. 59 & 60.

under the obligation of secrecy, by a *grasshopper*^d, which was thought to have no mouth.

Sometimes again, this kind of hieroglyphic was derived from the popular superstition. Thus he who had borne his misfortunes with courage, and had at length surmounted them, was signified by the *hyæna*^e, because the skin of that animal, used as a defence in battle, was supposed to make the wearer fearless and invulnerable.

But it is not from analogy alone (the force of which will be seen more fully as we proceed) nor yet from the nature of the thing only (which in these enquiries is indeed the safest guide) that we conclude, the hieroglyphics now described to be an improvement of an earlier picture-writing used by the Egyptians, and resembling that of the Americans. Ancient history records the fact: We are told, in that exquisite fragment of Sanchoniatho, preserved by Eusebius, that “ the God
“ Taautus, having imitated Ouranus’s art of
“ picture-writing^f, drew the portraits of the Gods
“ Cronus, Dagon, and the rest, and delineated
“ the sacred characters which formed the elements
“ of this kind of writing^g: for Cronus, par-
“ ticularly,

^d l. ii. c. 55.

^e l. ii. c. 72.

^f The original is Πρὸ δὲ τῶν Θεῶν Τάαυτος μιμησάμενος τὸν Οὐρανὸν, which Vigerus thus translates, *Taautus vero Deus cum jam ante cæli imaginem effinxisset*; and Cumberland, *But before these things the god Taautus having formerly imitated or represented Ouranus*:—This is wrong, μιμησάμενος τὸν Οὐρανὸν signifies here, imitating the art, or practice, or example of Ouranus; not painting his figure. So *Plutarch. de Fort. Alex.* Ἡρακλέα ΜΙΜΟΥΜΑΙ καὶ Περσέα ζῆλῶ.

^g The original is καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν διετύπωσεν τὰς ἱερὰς τῶν στοιχείων χαρακτῆρας. There is a small fault in this reading; it should be

“ ticularly, he imagined these symbols of royalty,
 “ four eyes, two before, and two behind; of
 “ which, two were closed in slumber; and on his
 “ shoulders four wings, two stretched out, as in
 “ the act of flight, and two contracted, as in re-
 “ pose. The first symbol signified that Cronus
 “ watched tho’ he reposed, and reposed tho’ he
 “ watched; the second symbol of the wings signi-
 “ fied, in like manner, that even when station’d

be τὰς ΤΕ ἱερὰς, with the conjunction: The corruption helped to mislead Cumberland, who translates,—*and formed the sacred characters of the other elements*; [p. 38 of his *Sanchoniatho’s Phœnician history*] which looks as if the learned prelate understood by στοιχείων, the *elements of nature*; *Cælum* or *Ouranos* having (as he supposed) been mentioned before, as delineated or engraved by Taautus: but ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΝ signifies the elements of hieroglyphic writing, and λοιπῶν refers not to that, but to θεῶν just above; which further appears from what follows — τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς θεοῖς, otherwise, only Dagon is left, for these words, τοῖς λοιποῖς θεοῖς to be applied to.—Sanchoniatho had said that Taautus represented the gods in a new invented hieroglyphic character; and then goes on to tell us that he invented other hieroglyphic characters, whether by figures or marks; for I apprehend that ἱερὰς τῶν στοιχείων χαρακτῆρας principally designs that part of hieroglyphic writing which was by mark, not figures: for without doubt, at first*, the Egyptians used the same method as the Mexicans, who, we are told, expressed in their hieroglyphic writing, those things which had form, by figures; others by arbitrary marks. See p. 72, note (g). But we shall see, that when the Egyptians employed this writing for the vehicle of their secrets, they then invented the forms of things to express abstract ideas. However, that this is the meaning of στοιχείων is further evident from this place of Eusebius, where he speaks of a quotation of Philo’s, from a work of Sanchoniatho, concerning the phœnician elements, Φοινίκων στοιχείων; which work, as appears by his account of the quotation, treated of the nature of several animals. But we have shewn how much the study of natural history contributed to the composition of hieroglyphic characters.

* This Eustathius intimates in these words, speaking of the most ancient egyptian hieroglyphics, — ζώδιά τινα ἱερογλυφῆτες, ἃ λοιπὰς δὲ χαρακτῆρας εἰς σημασίαν ὧν μέγιστον ἐβόλοντο. — in *Iliad*. vi. ver. 168.

“ he

“ he flew about, and when flying, he yet re-
 “ mained stationed. To each of the other gods
 “ he gave two wings on their shoulders, as the
 “ satellites of Cronus in his excursions; who had
 “ likewise two wings on his head, to denote the
 “ two principles of the mind, *reason* and *passion*^h.”

Here we see that Ouranus practised a kind of picture-writing, which Taautus afterwards improved: Taautus, or Thoth, was the egyptian Mercury; on which name and family, all the inventions of the various kinds of writing were very liberally bestowed: this, here mentioned, as the improvement of Taautus, being the very hieroglyphics above described; and that, as before practised by Ouranus, the same with the simple american paintings.

Such then was the ancient egyptian hieroglyphicⁱ; and this the second mode of invention for recording

^h Πρὸ δὲ τῶν θεῶν Τάαυτις μιμησάμενος τὸν Οὐρανόν, τῶν θεῶν ὄψεις, Κρόνον τε καὶ Δαγῶν, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν διελύπωσε τὰς ἱερὰς τῶν στοιχείων χαρακίῃρας ἐπενόησε δὲ καὶ τῷ Κρόνῳ παράσημα βασιλείας, ὀμμαῖα τέσσαρα ἐκ τῶν ἐμπροσθίων καὶ τῶν ὀπισθίων μερῶν· δύο δὲ ἡσυχῇ μέοντα, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων πτερὰ τέσσαρα· δύο μὲν ὡς ὑπλάμενα, δύο δὲ ὡς ὑφειμένα. τὸ δὲ σύμβολον ἦν, ἐπειδὴ Κρόνον κοιμώμενον ἔβλεπε, καὶ ἐγρηγορῶς ἐκοιμάτο· καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πτερῶν ὁμοίως, ὅτι ἀναπαυόμενος ὑπῆλθε, καὶ ὑπλάμενος ἀνεπαύετο· τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς θεοῖς, δύο ἐκάσῳ πτερῶμαῖα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων, ὡς ὅτι δὴ συνήπλητο τῷ Κρόνῳ· καὶ αὐτῷ δὲ πάλιν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, πτερὰ δύο· ἐν ἐπὶ τῇ ἡγεμονικῷ αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐν ἐπὶ τῆς αἰσθησεως. *Præp. Evang. l. i. c. 10.*

ⁱ At the time this account was first given to the public, the learned Dr. Richard Pococke coming fresh from Egypt, thought it incumbent on him to contradict that egyptian learning which was only conceived at home. But as, by a common practice of prudent men, he had not mentioned me by name, it was thought I had no right to reply. Let the reader judge of one, by the other.—This learned and indeed candid writer, in his book of travels, has a chapter, *On the ancient hieroglyphics of Egypt*; in which

recording mens actions and conceptions; not, as hath been hitherto thought, a device of choice for

which he expresseth himself as follows.——“ If hieroglyphical
 “ figures stood for words or sounds that signified certain things,
 “ the power of hieroglyphics seems to be the same as of a
 “ number of letters composing such a sound, that by agree-
 “ ment was made to signify such a thing. For hieroglyphics,
 “ as words, seem to have stood for sounds, and sounds signify
 “ things; as for instance, it might have been agreed that the
 “ figure of a crocodile might stand for the sound that meant
 “ what we call malice: the children of the priests were early
 “ taught that the figure of a crocodile stood for such a sound,
 “ and, if they did not know the meaning of the sound, it
 “ would certainly stand with them for a sound; though, as
 “ the sound, it signified also a quality or thing; and they
 “ might afterwards be taught the meaning of this sound; as
 “ words are only sounds, which sounds we agree shall signify
 “ such and such things; so that, to children, words only stand
 “ for sounds, which relate to such things as they know nothing
 “ of; and, in this sense, we say children learn many things
 “ like parrots, what they do not understand, and their memo-
 “ ries are exercised only about sounds, till they are instructed
 “ in the meaning of the words. This I thought it might be
 “ proper to observe, AS SOME SAY HIEROGLYPHICS STOOD
 “ FOR THINGS AND NOT FOR WORDS, — if sounds articu-
 “ lated in a certain manner are words. And tho’ it may be
 “ said, that in this case, when different nations, of different
 “ languages, agree on common characters, that stand for cer-
 “ tain things they agree on, that then such figures stand for
 “ things: this will be allowed; but then they stand for sounds
 “ too, that is, the sounds in each language that signify such
 “ things: and, as observed before, to children, who know
 “ nothing of the several things they stand for, to them they
 “ are only marks that express such and such sounds: so that
 “ these figures stand not for things alone, but as words, for
 “ sounds and things*.”

The design of this passage, the reader sees, is to oppose the principle I went upon, in explaining the nature of egyptian hieroglyphics, *that they stood for things, and not for words*. But that is all one sees; for the learned writer’s expression conforming to his ideas, will not suffer us to do more than guess at the

* Pag. 228, 229. of a book intituled, *A description of the East, &c.*

for secrecy, but an expedient of necessity, for popular use.

III. But

proof which he advances : it looks, however, like this, — That hieroglyphics cannot be said to stand for things only ; because things being denoted by words or sounds ; and hieroglyphics exciting the idea of sounds (which are the notes of things) as well as the idea of the things themselves, hieroglyphics stand both for sounds and things. — This seems to be the argument put into common english. But, for fear of mistaking him, let us confine ourselves to his own words.

If hieroglyphical figures (says he) stood for words or sounds that signified certain things, the power of hieroglyphics seems to be the same as of a number of letters composing such a sound that by agreement was made to signify such a thing. Without doubt, if hieroglyphics stood for sounds, they were of the nature of words, which stand for sounds. But this is only an hypothetical proposition : let us see therefore how he addresses himself to prove it. — *For hieroglyphics, AS WORDS, seem to have stood for sounds, and sounds signify things ; as for instance, it MIGHT have been agreed that the figure of a crocodile MIGHT stand for the same sound that meant what we call malice.* The propriety of the expression is suited to the force of the reasoning. 1. Instead of saying, *but hieroglyphics*, the learned writer says, *for hieroglyphics* ; which not expressing an illation, but implying a reason, obscures the argument he would illustrate. 2. He says, *Hieroglyphics, as words, seem to have stood for sounds.* Just before he said, *hieroglyphics stood for words OR sounds.* Here they are *AS words*, or, *like words*, and *seem to stand FOR sound*. What are we to take them for ? are words sound ? or, do they stand for sound ? He has given us our choice. But we go on. 3. For, he corroborates this seeming truth by an instance, in which the possibility of its standing for a sound is made a proof of its so doing. *It MIGHT (says he) have been agreed that the figure of a crocodile MIGHT stand, &c.*

But he is less diffident in what follows. *The children of the priests were early taught that the figure of a crocodile stood for such a sound, and if they did not know the meaning of the sound, it would certainly stand with them for a sound.* This indeed is an anecdote : but where did he learn that the children, before they could decipher the sounds of their own language, were taught hieroglyphics ? Till now, hieroglyphics, when got into exclusive hands, were understood to be reserved for those instructed in
high

III.

But the obscurity which attended the scantiness of hieroglyphic characters, joined to the enormous

high and mysterious science. But let us suppose that they were taught to children amongst their first elements: yet even then, as we shall see from the nature of the thing, they could never stand as marks for words or sounds. When a child is taught the power of letters, he learns that the letters, which compose the word, *malice*, for instance, express the *sound*: which, naturally arising from a combination of the several powers of each letter, shews him that the letters stand for such a sound or word. But when he is taught that the figure or picture of a crocodile signifies *malice*, he as naturally and necessarily conceives (tho' he knows not the meaning of the word) that it stands for some *thing*, signified by that word, and not for a *sound*: because there is no natural connexion between *figure* and a *sound*, as there is between *figure* and a *thing*. And the only reason why the word *malice* intervenes, in this connexion, is because of the necessity of the use of words to distinguish things, and rank them into sorts. But the veriest child could never be so simple as to conceive that, when he was told the figure of a beast with four short legs and a long tail signified *malice*, that it signified the *sound* of *malice*; any more than if he were told it signified a *crocodile*, that it signified the *sound* of the word *crocodile*. The truth is, the ignorant often mistake words for things, but never, things for words: that is, they frequently mistake the name of a thing for its nature; and rest contented in the knowledge which that gives them: Like him who, on the sight of a pictured elephant, inquiring what the creature was, on his being answered, that it was the *great Czar*, asked no further, but went away well satisfied in his acquaintance with that illustrious Stranger. Yet I apprehend he did not understand his informer to mean that it signified only the sound of that word. Perhaps the learned writer will object, that the cases are different; that the *elephant* was a mere picture, and the *crocodile* a sign or mark. But I have shewn at large that the ancient egyptian hieroglyphics were at first mere pictures; and that all the alteration they received, in becoming marks, was only the having their general use of conveying knowledge rendered more extensive and expeditious, more mysterious and profound; while they still continued to be the marks of *things*.

To proceed; our author considers next what he apprehends may be thought an objection to his opinion. *And tho' (says*

enormous bulk of picture volumes, set men upon contriving a third change in this kind of writing:
of

he) it may be said that, in this case, where different nations of different languages agree on common characters, that stand for certain things they agree on, that then such figures stand for things. To which he answers, *This will be allowed; but then they stand for sounds too, that is, the sounds in each language that signify such things.* He who can grant so much, and without injury to his system, need be under no fear of ever giving his adversary advantages. He may, if he pleases, say next, when disputing about the colour of an object, — *that it is black, will be allowed; but then it is white too.* For a mark for things can no more be a mark for sounds, then *black* can be *white*. The reason is the same in both cases; one quality or property excludes the other: thus, if hieroglyphic marks stand for things, and are used as common characters by various nations differing in speech and language, they cannot stand for sounds; because these men express the same thing by different sounds; unless, to remove this difficulty, he will go farther, and say, not, as he did before, that one hieroglyphic word (to use his own language) stood for one sound, but, that it stands for an hundred. Again, if hieroglyphic marks stand for sounds, they cannot stand for things: not those things which are not signified by such sounds; this he himself will allow: nor yet, I affirm, for those which are thus signified; because it is the sound which stands for the thing signified by the sound, and not the hieroglyphic mark. But all this mistake proceeded from another, namely, *that words stand both for sounds and things*, which we now come to. For he concludes thus, *So that these figures (viz. hieroglyphics) stand not for things alone, but, as words, for sounds and things.* An unhappy illustration! which has all the defects, both in point of meaning and expression, that a proposition can well have. For, if by *words*, be meant *articulated sounds*, then the expression labours in the sense, as affirming, that sounds stand for sounds. And that he meant so is possible, because in the beginning of the passage quoted, he uses words for articulate sounds.—*Hieroglyphics*, says he, *stood for words or sounds.* But if, by words, he meant letters, (and that he might mean so is possible likewise, for he presently afterwards uses words in that sense too.—*Hieroglyphics*, as words, says he, *seem to have stood for sounds*) then the proposition is only false: the plain truth being this, letters stand for sounds only; which sounds they naturally produce; as sounds arbitrarily denote things.

of which the CHINESE have given us a famous example.

We have just observed, that the ancient egyptian hieroglyphic was an improvement on a yet more ancient manner, resembling the rude picture-writing of the Mexicans; and that it joined contracted and arbitrarily instituted marks to images. The CHI-

But to be a little more particular; as in this distinction lies the judgment which is to be made, if ever it be rightly made, of the controversy between us. All this confusion of counter-reasoning proceeds, as we observed before, First, from not reflecting that letters, which stand for words, *have not*, and hieroglyphics, which stand for things, once *had not*, an arbitrary, but a natural designation. For, as the powers of letters naturally produce words or sounds, so the figures of hieroglyphics naturally signify things: either more simply, by representation, or more artificially by analogy: Secondly, from his not considering, that as we cannot think nor converse about things either accurately or intelligibly without words, so their intervention becomes necessary in explaining the marks of things. But therefore, to make hieroglyphics the marks of sounds, because sounds accompany things, would be as absurd as to make letters the marks of things, because things accompany sounds. And who, before our author, would say that *letters signified things as well as sounds*? unless he had a mind to confound all meaning. If he chose to instruct, or even to be understood, he would say, that letters naturally produced sounds or words; and that words arbitrarily denoted things: and had our author spoken the same intelligible language, and told us that hieroglyphics naturally expressed things, and that things were arbitrarily denoted by words, he would indeed have spared both of us the present trouble; but then he had said nothing new. As it is, I cannot but suspect that this learned writer, though he had been in Egypt, yet found his *hieroglyphics* at home; and mistook these for the egyptian. No other agreeing with his description of picture-characters standing for *sounds*, but that foolish kind of *rebus-writing* called by the polite vulgar, *hieroglyphics*, the childish amusement of the illiterate; in which, indeed, the figures stand only for sounds; sounds, divested of *sense* as well as *things*. Nor is Dr. Pococke the only *polite* writer who has fallen into this ridiculous mistake. See a paper called THE WORLD, N^o. XXIV.

NESE writing at length went still further, it threw out the images, and retained only the marks; which they increased to a prodigious number: In this writing, every distinct idea has its proper mark; and is, like every real character, whether formed by *analogy* or *institution*, common to divers neighbouring nations, of different languages^k. The shapes and figures of several of these marks, however now disguised, do yet betray their original to be from picture and images; as the reader may perceive, by casting his eye on the specimen given us by Kircher¹: for, that it is only a more contracted and refined hieroglyphic, we have the

^k — pero lo que se escribe en ella, en todas las lenguas se entiende, porque aunque las Provincias no se entienden de palabra unas a otras, mas por escrito si, porque las letras o figuras son unas mismas para todos, y significan lo mismo, mas no tienen el mismo nombre ni pronuncion, porque como he dicho son para denotar cosas y no palabras, assi como en el exemplo de los numeros de guarismo que puse, se puede facilmente entender. De aqui tambien procede, que siendo los Japones y Chinas, Naciones y lenguas tan diferentes leen y entienden los unos las escrituras de los otros; y si hablas sen lo que leen, o escriben, poco ni mucho no se entenderian. Estas pues son las letras y libros que usan los Chinos tan afamados en el mundo, &c. *Acosta*, lib. vi. cap. 5.

Les Caracteres de la Cochinchine, du Tongking, du Japon sont les mêmes que ceux de la Chine, & signifient les mêmes choses, sans toutefois que ces Peuples en parlant, s'expriment de la même sorte. Ainsi quoique les langues soient très-différentes, & qu'ils ne puissent pas s'entendre les uns les autres en parlant; ils s'entendent fort bien en s'écrivant, & tous leurs Livres sont communs. Ces Caracteres sont en cela comme des Chiffres d'arithmétique: plusieurs Nations s'en servent: on leur donne différens noms; mais ils signifient par tout la même chose—l'on compte jusqu'à quatre-vingt mille de ces Caracteres. *Du Halde Descr. de l'Empire de la Chine*, tom. ii. p. 226. fol. ed.

¹ *China illustrata*, p. 227. & *Oedipi Aegyptiaci Theatrum Hieroglyphicum*, p. 12. See plate V.

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A Specimen of the more modern Chinese Characters taken from their more ancient The first row modern the second Antient correspondent to the first.
From Kirders China Illustrata.

J. Mynde sc.

concurrent testimony of the best writers on the arts and manners of this famous people ; who inform us how their present writing was deduced, thro' an earlier hieroglyphic, from the first simple way of painting the human conceptions ^m.

But

^m Primò siquidem ex omnibus rebus mundialibus primos *Sinas* characteres suos construxisse, tum ex Chronicis ipsorum patet, tum ipsa characterum forma sat superque demonstrat ; siquidem non secus ac *Ægyptii* ex animalibus, volucris, reptilibus, piscibus, herbis, arborumque ramis, funiculis, filis, punctis, circulis, similibusque characteres suos, aliâ tamen & aliâ ratione dispositos formabant. Posteriores verò *Sinæ* rerum experientia doctiores, cum magnam in tanta animalium plantarumque congerie confusionem viderent, characteres hujusmodi variè figuratos, certis punctorum linearumque ductibus æmulati, in breviorum methodum concinnârunt, quâ & in hunc usque diem utuntur.—Porro litteras *Sinæ* nulla ratione in Alphabeti morem, uti cæteris nationibus consuetum est, dispositas, neque voces ex literis & syllabis compositas habent, sed singuli characteres singulis vocibus & nominibus respondent ; adeoque tot characteribus opus habent, quot res sunt, quas per conceptum mentis exponere volunt. *Kircheri China Illustrata*, p. 226.

Au lieu d'Alphabet ils se sont servis au commencement de leur Monarchie, de *Hieroglyphes*. Ils ont peint au lieu d'écrire ; & par les images naturelles des choses qu'ils formoient sur le papier ils tâchoient d'exprimer & de communiquer aux autres leurs idées. Ainsi pour écrire un oiseau, ils en peignoient la figure ; & pour signifier un forest, ils representoient plusieurs arbres ; un cercle vouloit dire le Soleil, & un croissant la Lune. Cette manière d'écrire estoit non seulement imparfait, mais encore très-incommode.—Ainsi les Chinois changerent peu à peu leur écriture, & composerent des figures plus simples, quoique moins naturelles, &c.—*Le Comte, Nouv. Memoires sur l'Etat Present de la Chine*, Tome prem. p. 256. *Amst.* 1698. 12^m.

Des le commencement de leur Monarchie, ils communiquoient leurs idées, en formant sur la papier les images naturelles des choses qu'ils vouloient exprimer : ils peignoient, par exemple, un oiseau, des montagnes, des arbres, des lignes ondoyantes pour exprimer des oiseaux, des montagnes, un forêt, & des rivières. Cette manière d'expliquer sa pensée étoit fort imparfaite, & demandoit plusieurs volumes pour exprimer assez peu

But it may be worth our while to consider more particularly, the origine and introduction of these ARBITRARY MARKS; the last advance of hieroglyphics, towards *alphabetic writing*. We may observe that substances, and all visible objects, were at first very naturally expressed by the images of the things themselves; as moral modes and other ideal conceptions of the mind were more aptly represented by marks of arbitrary institution: for it required variety of knowledge, and quickness of fancy to design these latter ideas by analogic or symbolic figures: which therefore can be supposed no other than an after-thought of a people more than ordinary ingenious, as the Egyptians, and who aiming to set a price upon their ingenuity, made their meaning mysterious and profound.

des choses. D'ailleurs il y avoit une infinité d'objets, qui ne pouvoient être representez par la peinture. — C'est pourquoi insensiblement ils changerent leur ancienne maniere d'écrire; ils composerent des figures plus simples, & en inventerent plusieurs autres, pour exprimer les objets qui ne tombent point sous les sens. Mais ces caractères plus modernes ne laissent pas d'être encore de vrais Hieroglises. Premièrement parce qu'ils sont composez de lettres simples, qui retiennent la même signification des caractères primitifs: Autrefois, par exemple, ils representoient ainsi le Soleil par un cercle ☉ & l'appelloient *Gé*; ils le representent maintenant par cette figure ☿, qu'ils nomment pareillement *Gé*. Secondement, parce que l'institution des hommes a attaché à ces figures la même idée, que ces premiers Symboles presentent naturellement, & qu'il n'y a aucune lettre Chinoise qui n'ait sa propre signification, lorsqu'on la joint avec d'autres. *Tsai*, par exemple, qui veut dire, *malheur*, calamité, est composé de la lettre *mien*, qui signifie *maison*, & de la lettre *ho*, qui signifie *feu*, parce que le plus grand malheur est devoir sa maison en feu. On peut juger par ce seul exemple, que les caractères Chinois n'étant pas des lettres simples, comme les nôtres, qui separement ne signifient rien, & n'ont de sens que quand elles sont jointes ensemble; ce sont autant de Hieroglises, qui forment des images, & qui expriment les pensées. *Du Halde*, tom. ii. p. 227.

We shall see presently, that as all nations, in their ruder state, had hieroglyphic images or analogic or symbolic figures for marking things; so had they likewise simple characters or notes of arbitrary institution, for *mental conceptions*. But, commonly that sort only which they most cultivated, or for which they were principally famous, happened to be transmitted to posterity. Thus the Mexicans are remembered for their hieroglyphic paintings only; and the Peruvians for their knotted cords. But we are not therefore to conclude that the mexican writing had no arbitrary marksⁿ, or that the Peruvians had no hieroglyphic paintings^o. Real characters of both kinds had, at different periods, been cultivated in China, if we may credit the concurrent relations of the Missionaries. In ancient Egypt indeed, where hieroglyphic figures were so successfully cultivated as to give that general name to real characters, the use of marks by institution is more obscurely noticed. And for this, a reason will be assigned. Martinus Martinius, in his history of China, tells us^p, they had two sorts of characters; the one, marks by institution, which had been substituted instead of knotted cords, once

ⁿ Joseph Acoſta (as we ſee above) expreſſly ſays that “ the Mexicans repreſented thoſe things, which had bodily ſhape, “ by their proper figures, and *thoſe which had none, by other “ ſignificative characters:*” — las coſas que tenian figuras las ponian con ſus proprias ymagineſ; y para las coſas que no avia ymagen propria tenian otros caracteres ſignificativos de aquello.—

^o The ſame Acoſta ſays expreſſly, that, beſides their *quippos* or ſtrings variously knotted and coloured, they had paintings like the Mexicans. l. vi. c. 8.

^p Idem imperator [Fo-hi] Sinicos caracteres reperit, quos loco nodorum adhibuit, ſed iſiſ nodis intricatiores. *Sin. hiſt.* l. i.

in

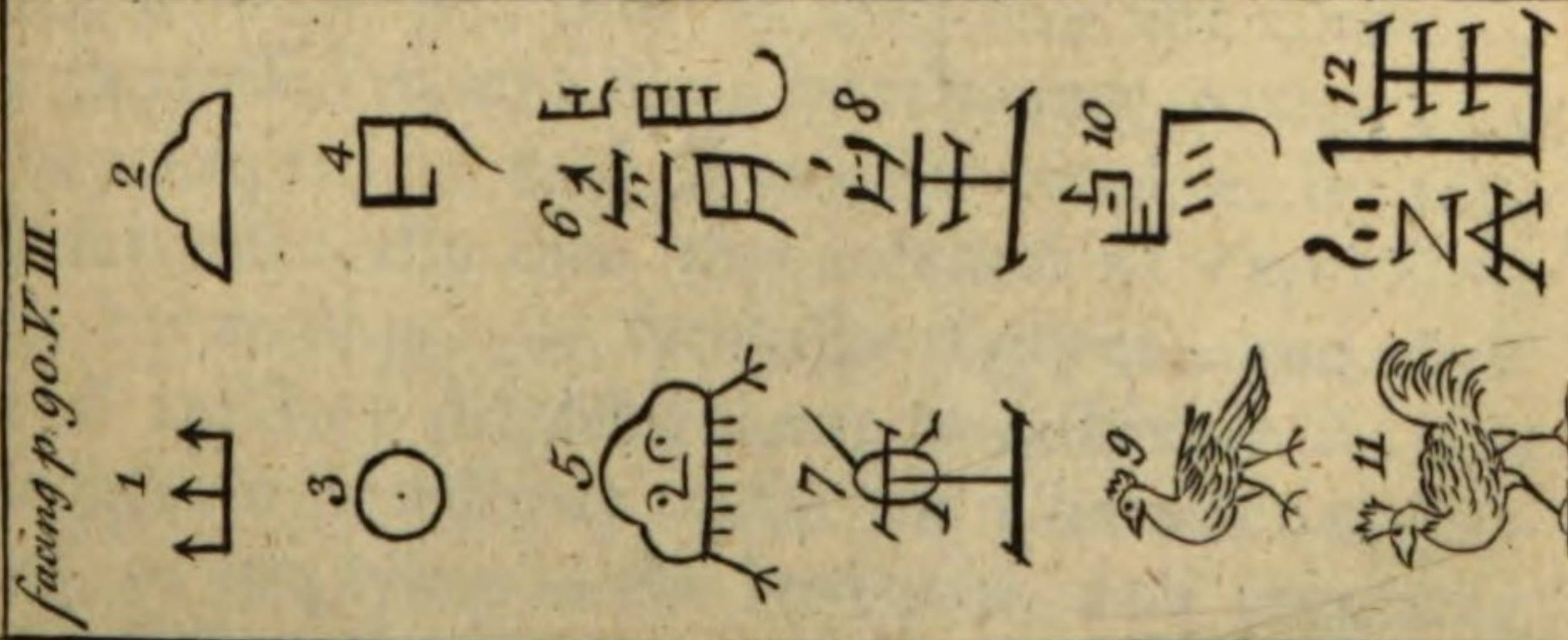
in use amongst them, (as in Peru) but much more intricate than the peruvian knots: their other characters were figures resembling the egyptian hieroglyphics, and representing the *things* they were designed to express. Now as the Chinese improved in arts and empire, it is natural to suppose they would much increase their marks by institution. The growing number of these characters, the sciences to which they were applied, and their commodious and expeditious use, would tempt them even to change their analogic figures into marks by institution, till their whole writing became of this sort. It is now such: and that the change was produced in the manner here represented, we may collect from the words and scheme of Martinius on the other side^a.

But to all this it may be said, How then came it to pass, that Egypt, which had the same imperial fortune in a long flourishing dominion, should be so far from changing their analogic figures into arbitrary marks, that their arbitrary marks were almost lost and absorbed in analogic figures? For such arbitrary marks they had, as we may collect from their monuments, where we find them intermixed with proper hieroglyphics; and from Apuleius, where we see them described in his account of the sacred book or ritual of the mysteries of Isis.

“ De opertis adyti profert quosdam libros, litteris
 “ ignorabilibus prænotatos: partim FIGURIS CU-
 “ JUSCEMODI ANIMALIUM, concepti sermonis
 “ compendiosa verba suggerentes; partim NODOSIS,
 “ ET IN MODUM ROTÆ TORTUOSIS, capreola-
 “ timque condensis apicibus, a curiositate profa-
 “ norum lectione munita:” the very same species of

^a See plate VI.

Hæc litera, 1. quæ montem significat, olim ita, 2. pingebatur. Sic solem eo modo exprimebant, quo Mathematicis bodie circulo medioque puncto, 3. describitur; nunc ista forma. 4. effingunt. Draconis hæc. 5. olim figura erat; bodie ita. 6. formatur. Regis litera, seu nomen sceptrum cum oculo, 7. referebat; nunc ita, 8. pingunt. Volucrem, gallinam, vel gallum, sua. hoc est, nativa specie, 9. 11. representabant; nunc bis ductibus, 10. 12. explicantur. Habeo penes me librum literis Sinicis ad sex diversos modos conscriptum, opus antiquissimum & rarum, Sinis ob vetustatem raritatemque magno semper in pretio habitum. In eo libro antiquæ literæ formam utrunque referunt earum, quas Romæ in obeliscis sæpe me videre memini.



writing with that of the Chinese, described by Martinius, and almost in the same words: “Fohius
“characteres reperit, quos loco nodorum adhibuit;
“sed ipsis nodis intricatiores.”

Now this opposite progress in the issue of hieroglyphic writing, in Egypt and China, may, I think, be easily accounted for by the different genius of the two people. The Egyptians were extremely inventive; and, what is often a consequence of that humour, (tho’ here other things contributed to promote it) much given to secrecy and mysterious conveyance. While the Chinese are known to be the least inventive people upon earth; and not much given to mystery. This difference in the genius of the two nations would make all the difference in the progress of hieroglyphic writing amongst them. I have observed that the easiest, and most natural expression of the abstract conceptions of the mind, was by arbitrary marks: but yet the most ingenious way of representing them was by analogic or symbolic figures; as omniscience by an *eye*; ingratitude by a *viper*; impudence by the *river-horse*. Now the Egyptians, who were of a lively imagination, and studious of natural knowledge, tho’ at first, like the Chinese, they expressed mental ideas by arbitrary marks, yet, as they improved their inventive faculties by use, they fell naturally into this method of expressing them by analogic or symbolic figures; and their love of mystery disposed them to cultivate it: for these figures necessarily make the Character mysterious, as implying in the Inventor, and requiring in the User a knowledge of physics; whereas arbitrary marks lie open to all, as requiring no knowledge but that of the institution. Hence we have a plain reason how it happened, that the
Egyptian

Egyptian Hieroglyphics, from very early times, consisted principally of symbolic and analogic marks, and that those Chinese Hieroglyphics were turned altogether into marks by institution. For as the Egyptians had soon learnt to express abstract ideas by analogic signs, so the Chinese were at last drawn to express even material things by arbitrary marks.

In a word, the Chinese method of thus conducting hieroglyphic writing through all its changes and improvements, from a picture to a simple mark, was the occasion that the Missionaries, who considered the history of their *writing* only by parts, have given us such different accounts of it. Sometimes they represent it like the Mexican pictures; sometimes like the knotted cords of the Peruvians; sometimes as approaching to the characters found upon the Egyptian obelisks; and sometimes again as of the nature of the Arabic marks for numbers. But each man speaks only of the monuments of which he himself had got information; and these differed according to their age and place. He, whose attention was taken up with the most ancient only of the Chinese monuments, did not hesitate to pronounce them hieroglyphics, like the Egyptian; because he saw them to be analogic or symbolic signs, like the Egyptian: he who considered only the characters of later use denied them to be like the Egyptian, because he found them to be only marks by institution.

These imperfect accounts have misled the learned into several mistakes concerning the general nature and use of Hieroglyphics themselves. Some supposing it of their nature to be *obvious marks* of institution; and others, that it required a very *comprehensive*

prebensive knowledge of physics to be able to compose them.

Mr. Freret speaking of the Chinese characters, says, "Selon eux [les chinois] ces anciens caractères, "etoient tous fondés sur des raisons philosophiques. "Ils exprimoient la nature des choses qu'ils signifioient : ou du moins la determinoient en désignant les rapports de ces mêmes choses avec "d'autres mieux connues". But he doubts whether entire credit is to be given to their accounts; for he observes that "La construction d'une pareille langue demande une parfaite connoissance "de la nature et de l'ordre des idées qu'il faut "exprimer, c'est à-dire, *une bonne metaphysique,* "et, peut-être même *un systeme complet de philosophie.* --- Les chinois n'ont jamais eu rien de "pareil." He concludes therefore, that the Chinese hieroglyphics "n'ont jamais eu qu'un rapport d'INSTITUTION avec les choses qu'elles signifient." This is strange reasoning. To know whether the ancient Chinese characters were founded on philosophic relations, does not depend on their having a true system of physics and metaphysics, but on their having a system simply, whether true or false, to which to adapt those Characters: Thus, that part of the Egyptian physics which taught, that the viper tore its way through its mother's entrails, and that the skin of the hyæna preserved the wearer invulnerable, served full as well for hieroglyphical uses, as the foundest part of their astronomy, which placed the sun in the center of its system.

Again, others have denied the Chinese characters to be properly Hieroglyphics, because they are ar-

^r Mem. de l'Acad. tom. vi. p. 609.

bitrary marks and not analogical. P. Parennin says, "Les caractères chinois ne sont hieroglyphes
 " qu' improprement. — Ce sont des signes *arbi-*
 " *traires* qui nous donnent l'idée d'une chose, non
 " par aucun rapport qu'ils aient avec la chose fig-
 " nifiée, mais parce qu'on a voulu par tel signe fig-
 " nifier telle chose.---En est-il de même des hiero-
 " glyphes Egyptiens?" P. Gaubil says,---" On voit
 " l'importance d'une histoire critique sur l'origine et
 " les changemens arrivés à plusieurs caractères chi-
 " nois qui sont certainement hieroglyphes. D'un
 " autre côté, il y a des caractères chinois, qui *cer-*
 " *tainement ne sont pas hieroglyphes*. Une histoire de
 " ceux ci seroit aussi importante." These Fathers,
 we see, suppose it essential to hieroglyphic cha-
 racters, that they be analogic or symbolic signs;
 and finding the more modern Chinese writing to be
 chiefly composed of arbitrary marks, or signs by
 institution, they concluded that the Chinese cha-
 racters were not properly Hieroglyphics. Whereas,
 what truly denotes a writing to be hierogly-
 phical is, that its marks are signs for THINGS; what
 denotes a writing not to be hieroglyphical, is that its
 marks are signs for WORDS. Whether the marks
 be formed by *analogy* or *institution* makes no altera-
 tion in the nature of the *writing*. If they be
 signs for *things*, they can be nothing but hierogly-
 phics; if they be signs for *words*, they may be,
 and I suppose always are, alphabetic characters;
 but never can be hieroglyphics. However, it is
 but justice to these learned Fathers to observe,
 that one of them, from whom the others might
 have profited, appears to have a much clearer
 conception of this matter. — "*La nature des*
 " *hieroglyphes* (says he) n'est pas d'être des figures
 " naturelles des choses qu'ils signifient, mais seule-
 " ment de les représenter ou naturellement, ou
 " par

‘ par l’institution des hommes. Or tous les lettres chinoises, ou sont des figures naturelles, comme les anciennes, du soleil, de la lune, ou autres semblables, ou sont des figures destinées pour signifier quelque chose, comme sont toutes celles qui signifient des choses qui n’ont aucune figure; comme l’ame, la beauté, les vertus, les vices, et toutes les actions des hommes et des animaux.’

On the whole, therefore, we see that, before the institution of letters to express sounds, all characters denoted only THINGS; 1. By *representation*. 2. By *analogy* or *symbols*. 3. By *arbitrary institution*. Amongst the Mexicans, the first method was principally in use: The Egyptians chiefly cultivated the second: And the Chinese, in course of time, reduced almost all their characters to the third. But the empires of China and Egypt long flourishing in their different periods, had time and inclination to cultivate all the three species of hieroglyphic writing: only with this difference; the Egyptians beginning, like the Mexicans, with a picture, and being ingenious and much given to mystery, cultivated a species of hieroglyphics most abounding in signs by analogy, or symbols; whereas the Chinese, who set out like the Peruvians with a knotted cord^t, and were less inventive, and without a secret worship, cultivated

^a P. Magaillans, relat. de la Chine.

^t Les premiers inventeurs de l’écriture Chinoise, en s’attachant à des signes qui n’ont qu’un rapport d’institution avec les choses signifiées, ont suivi le génie de la nation Chinoise; qui même avant Fo-hi, c’est à dire, dans la plus profonde antiquité, se servoit de cordelettes nouées en guise d’écriture. *Mem. de l’Acad. tom. vi. Freret.*

that species which most abounds in marks of arbitrary institution^u.

In

^u It may not be improper, in this place, just to take notice of one of the strangest fancies, that ever got possession of the pericranium of an Antiquary. It is this, that the Chinese borrowed their *real characters* or *hieroglyphic marks* from the Egyptians. The author of it expresses his conceit in this manner. —“Linguam autem primitivam & barbaram vel puram, vel saltem parum immutatam, et politam Ægyptiorum consuetudine, retinere poterant [Sinenses,] et solum hoc sibi ab ipsis DERIVARE, ET ADOPTARE SCRIBENDI GENUS, ratione habita non ad linguam Ægyptiacam, sed unice ad ideas his Characteribus expressas, quos et sermonis sui nativi, immo etiam et linguæ suæ syllabis seperatim sumptis eodem tempore applicaverunt.” *De Inscr. Ægyptica Epist.* p. 53. *Authore Turbervil. Needham.*

From what hath been observed of the nature and origine of a REAL CHARACTER in general, supported by what the Chinese tell us of the very high antiquity of theirs, it is impossible to fix upon any period of time when the Egyptians (whether invited, or simply enabled by their improvements in navigation and commerce to penetrate into China) could find this highly policied people without a *real character*.

The question then will be, What possible inducements the Chinese could have to exchange their *real characters*, for the Egyptian. Benefit by this change they could receive none, because one *real character* is just as good as another: And men at their ease, are rarely disposed to change native for foreign, but with the prospect of some advantage. To this it may be said, “that one *alphabetic character* likewise is just as good as another, and yet nothing has been more common than for one nation to change its own alphabet for the alphabet of another.” An instance, without doubt, very apposite. To change the shapes of four and twenty letters is but a morning’s work; and I suppose a small share of civility and complaisance might go thus far, between neighbours. But to throw away a million of *old marks*, and to have a million of *new* to learn, is an amusement of quite another nature. I apprehend, that such a proposal (had the Egyptians made it, with an offer of all their learning along with it) would have much alarmed the indolent unenterprising temper of the Chinese. But the Critic seems to think, that an old character, like an old coat, would be willingly exchanged for a new one. Alas! Time and Antiquity, which
make

In a word, all the barbarous nations upon earth, before the invention or introduction of letters,

make such havock with *the muddy vestures of decay*, give a new gloss as well as a stronger texture, to the *spiritual cloathing* of ideas. And if their old characters were like any old coat, it must be such a one as Settle wore in Elysium; which, as the Poet sings had, together with its owner, received a new lustre in this its state of beatification.

“ All as the Vest, appear’d the Wearer’s frame,

“ Old in new state, another yet the same.”

The truth is, the Chinese, who have preserved specimens of all the various revolutions in their *real characters*, have the highest veneration for the most ancient. Now is it possible to conceive that a people thus circumstanced and disposed, should part with their native characters, the gift of their Demy-gods and Heroes, to receive others, of the same sort, from strangers; recommendable for no advantage which their own did not possess, and partaking of all the inconveniencies to which their own were subject. Had the Egyptians indeed offered them an ALPHABET, (which, were they disposed to be so communicative, we know, they had it in their power to do, at what time soever it can be *reasonably* supposed they first visited the coasts of China) the offer had been humane, and, without doubt, the benefit had been gratefully accepted. But that the Egyptians did nothing of all this, appears from the Chinese being without an ALPHABET to this very day. And yet I am persuaded, it was the confounding of these two things, one of which was practicable and useful, the other useless and impracticable, I mean the communication of an Alphabet, which was common in the ancient world; and the communication of a real Character, which was never heard of till now,—I say, it was the confounding of these two things that gave birth to this strange conceit. And then the similitude of shape between the Egyptian and the Chinese *marks*, was thought to compleat the discovery. The Letter-writer did not seem to reflect, that the shapes of *real characters*, after great improvements made in them by a long course of time, such as the Egyptian and the Chinese, must needs have a great resemblance, whether the characters were formed by ANALOGY or INSTITUTION. In the first case, *nature* made the resemblance, as being the common archetype to both nations. In the latter, *necessity*, for only straight and crooked lines being employed to form these marks, there must needs arise from a combination of such lines infinitely varied, a striking resemblance between the *real characters* of two

ters, made use of Hieroglyphics, or signs for things, to record their meaning: the more gross, by *representation*; the more subtle and civilized, by *analogy* and *institution*.

THUS

people, tho' most distant in genius and situation. But the folly, which such Conjecturers are apt to fall into is, that if the *forms* of the marks be alike, the *powers* must be alike also.

What is here said, will enable us likewise to appreciate another ingenious contrivance of one *M. de Guignes of the Academy Royal of Inscriptions, &c.* to get to the same discovery. Upon a supposition of the truth of what I had laid down, that the first Egyptian alphabet was taken from their hieroglyphic characters *, this Academician fell to work, to ANALYSE, as he terms it, the Chinese characters; when, to his great surprise, he found, that their contents were only a certain number of LETTERS belonging to the Oriental Alphabets, packed up, as it were for carriage: which, when taken out, developed, and put in order, formed an Egyptian or Phenician word, that expressed the idea for which the Chinese *real Character* stood, as its Representative. How precarious, and of how little solidity this fanciful Analysis is, may be understood by all who have seen these *Chinese marks* and *Oriental alphabets*; both of which consist of the same straight and curve lines variously combined; so that it cannot be otherwise but that in every Chinese mark should be found, that is, easily imagined, a composition of any alphabetic letters which the profound Decipherer stands in need of. But the pleasantry of the conceit lies here, that tho' the Chinese have alphabetic characters (which this ingenious Author has, with great astonishment, now first discovered) yet they themselves know nothing of the matter, as he at the same time has assured us †.

* M. Warburton avoit pensé que le premier Alphabet avoit emprunté ses elemens des Hieroglyphes mêmes; et M. l' Abbé Barthelémy avoit mis cette excellente théorie dans un plus grand jour, en plaçant sur une colonne diverses lettres Egyptiennes, en correspondance avec les Hieroglyphes qui les avoient produits. On pouvoit donc presumer que les Egyptiens avoient communiqué aux Chinois les caractères que je venois de decouvrir, mais qu'ils les regardoient eux-mêmes alors comme des signes Hieroglyphiques, & non comme des lettres proprement dites.—De l' *Origine des Chinois*, p. 63—4.

† Les caractères Chinois dans l'état où nous les avons à présent, constituent trois sortes de caractères; l'Epistolique ou ALPHABETIQUE, le hieroglyphique & le symbolique: c'est un nouveau rapport des plus singuliers avec l'Egypte, qui n'a point été connu jusque à présent, QUE LES CHINOIS EUX-MÊMES IGNORENT, et qui me jette dans le plus grand étonnement, un examen attentif—me l'a fait connoître, &c. *Mem. de Lit.* Tom. 29. p. 13.

I might

THUS we have brought down the general history of writing, by a gradual and easy descent, from a PICTURE to a LETTER; for chinese marks which participate of egyptian hieroglyphics on the one hand, and of alphabetic letters on the other (just as those hieroglyphics partook equally of Mexican pictures and Chinese characters) are on the very border of letters; an ALPHABET invented to express *sounds* instead of *things* being only a compendium of that large volume of arbitrary marks.

Some alphabets, as the Ethiopic and Coptic^x, have taken in hieroglyphic figures to compose their

I might likewise insist upon this scheme's labouring under the same absurdity with M. Needham's. For tho' when M. de Guignes speaks of that part of the Chinese real character whose marks are *symbolic*, or formed upon analogy, p. 71—2. he is willing to have it believed, (what his title-page enounces) that China was inhabited by an egyptian Colony, which carried along with them, the Hieroglyphics they now use; yet where he examines that other part, consisting of arbitrary marks, or marks by institution, p. 64. & seq. he supposes them, as we see above, communicated to the Chinese by the Egyptians.—*On pouvoit donc presumer (says he) que les Egyptiens avoient communiqué aux Chinois les caractères que je venois de decouvrir.*

To conclude, the learned world abounds with discoveries of this kind. They have all one common Original; the old inveterate error, that a similitude of customs and manners, amongst the various tribes of mankind most remote from one another, must needs arise from some communication. Whereas human nature, without any other help, will, in the same circumstances, always exhibit the same appearances.

^x L'Alphabet Ethiopien est de tous ceux que l'on connoît qui tient encore des Hieroglyphes. *Fourmont, Reflexions Crit. sur les Hist. des Anc. Peuples*, tom. sec. p. 501. Kircher illustrates this matter in his account of the coptic alphabet. But as on his system every thing that relates to Egypt is a mystery,

their letters; which appears both from their shapes and names. The ancient Egyptian did the same, as a learned french writer hath shewn in a very ingenious and convincing manner^y. But this is
seen

the shapes and names of the letters of their alphabet we may expect to find full of profound wisdom: yet, methinks, nothing could be more natural, than for a people long used to hieroglyphic characters, to employ the most celebrated of them, when they invented an alphabet, in forming the letters of it: and if the Chinese, who yet want an alphabet, were now to make one, it is not to be doubted but they would use the most venerable of their characteristic marks for the letters of it. However, let us hear Kircher for the fact's sake: — *Ita Ægyptiis natura comparatum fuit, ut quemadmodum nihil in omnibus eorum institutis sine mysterio peragebatur, ita & in lingua communi, uti ex alphabeto eorundem, mysteriosa literarum institutione ita concinnato, ut nulla ferè in eodem litera reconditorum sacramentorum non undiquaque plena reperiretur, patet. De primævis Ægyptiorum literis variæ diversorum sunt opiniones. Omnes tamen in hoc consentiunt plerasque ex sacrorum animalium forma, incessu, aliarumque corporis partium sitibus & symmetria desumptas. Ita Demetrius Phalereus, qui septem vocales assignans, septem Diis consecratis, ait, cæteras ex animalium formâ desumptas. Eusebius adstruit idem. — Theatr. Hierogl. p. 42. tom. iii. of his Oedip. Ægypt.* As for this fancy, mentioned by Demetrius Phalereus, it had a very different original from what Kircher supposes; being only an enigmatic intimation of the different natures of vowels and consonants. The latter being brute sounds without the aid of the former, by which they are as it were animated.

^y — The very learned and illustrious author of a work intituled, *Recueil d'Antiquités Egyptiennes, Etrusques, Grecques et Romaines*, vol. i. M. the Count CAYLUS, after having confuted the idle conjectures of certain learned men concerning the contents of a sepulchral linen, marked over with egyptian alphabetic characters, proceeds thus: — *Il me semble qu'on tireroit de plus grands avantages de ce monument, si, au lieu de s'obstiner à percer ces ténèbres, on tâchoit, de remonter par son moyen à l'origine de l'écriture, et d'en suivre le developpement et les progres: si l'on cherchoit enfin à connoître la forme des anciennes lettres, et le pays où l'on a commencé à les employer. Ces questions et tant d'autres semblables ne pourront jamais être*

seen even from the names which express letters and literary-writing in the ancient languages: thus the

être éclaircies par les temoignages des auteurs Grecs et Latins. Souvent peu instruits des antiquités de leur pays, ils n'ont fait que recueillir des traditions incertaines, et multiplier des doutes auxquels on prefereroit volontiers l'ignorance la plus profonde: c'est aux monumens qu'on doit recourir. Quand ils parleront clairement, il faudra bien que les anciens auteurs s'accordent avec eux. Avant le commencement de ce siècle on ne connoissoit point l'écriture courante des Egyptiens, et plusieurs critiques la confondoient tantôt avec celle des anciens Hebreux, et tantôt avec les hieroglyphes; mais depuis cette époque il nous est venu plusieurs fragmens, qui ont fixé nos idées; et il faut espérer que de nouvelles recherches nous en procureront un plus grand nombre. Conservons avec soin des restes si précieux, et tachons de les mettre en oeuvre, en suivant l'exemple de celui des modernes qui a repandu les plus grandes lumières sur la question de l'antiquité des lettres. M. Warburton a détruit l'erreur où l'on étoit que les prêtres Egyptiens avoient inventé les hieroglyphes pour cacher leur science: il a distingué trois époques principales dans l'art de se communiquer les idées par écrit: sous la première, l'écriture n'étoit qu'une simple représentation des objets, une véritable peinture; sous la seconde, elle ne consistoit qu'en hieroglyphes, c'est-à-dire, en une peinture abrégée, qui, par exemple, au lieu de représenter un objet entier, n'en représentoit qu'une partie, un rapport, &c. Enfin sous la troisième époque, les hieroglyphes altérés dans leurs traits devinrent les élémens d'une écriture courante: M. Warburton auroit pû mettre cette excellente théorie à portée de tout le monde, en plaçant dans une première colonne une suite d'hieroglyphes, et dans une seconde les lettres qui en sont dérivées; mais sans doute que les bornes qu'il s'étoit prescrites ne lui ont pas permis d'entrer dans ce détail. Quoi qu'il soit, tous ceux qui recherchent l'origine des arts et des connoissances humaines, peuvent vérifier le système du sçavant Anglois, et se convaincre que les lettres égyptiennes ne sont que des hieroglyphes déguisés. Nous avons assez de secours pour entreprendre cet examen. Les recueils des antiquaires offrent plusieurs monumens égyptiens chargés d'hieroglyphes: et la seule bande de toile que l'on publie ici [Pl. N°. 21, 22, 23, 24, 25.] suffiroit pour donner une idée de l'écriture courante — de s'assurer que l'alphabet de la langue égyptienne émanoit des hieroglyphes, il suffira d'avoir un assez grande quantité des lettres isolées, et de comparer avec les figures représentées sur

the greek words ΣΗΜΕΙΑ and ΣΗΜΑΤΑ signify as well the images of natural things as artificial marks or characters; and ΓΡΑΦΩ, is both to paint and to write. The not attending to this natural and easy progress of hieroglyphic images from pictures to alphabetic letters, made some amongst the ancients, as Plato and Tully, when struck with the wonderful artifice of an ALPHABET, conclude that it was no human invention, but a gift of the immortal Gods.

Here then we see the first beginnings of Hieroglyphics amongst the Mexicans, and the end of them amongst the Chinese; yet we never find them

les monumens egyptiens. Or je puis assûrer que l'on appercevra entr'elles la liaison la plus intime, et les rapports les plus sensibles; et pour s'en convaincre, on n'a qu'à jeter les yeux sur le N°. I. de la XXVI. planche. J'y ai fait graver sur une premiere colonne une suite d'hieroglyphes tirés la plupart des obelisques, et dans une colonne correspondante, les lettres egyptiennes qui viennent de ces hieroglyphes. On trouvera, par exemple, que le premier hieroglyphe representant une barque, a produit un element d'écriture, dont la valeur a pû varier, suivant les points ou les traits dont il étoit affecté; que le troisieme hieroglyphe, qu'on croit être l'image d'une porte, en perdant son arrondissement a formé la lettre qui lui est parallele; que la figure d'homme ou d'animal accroupie au N°. 4. est devenue une lettre qui ne conserve que les linéamens du symbole original; enfin que le serpent figuré si souvent sur les monumens egyptiens, N°. 19. s'est changé en un caractère qui retrace encore aux yeux les sinuosités de ce reptile. On trouvera aussi que l'autres hieroglyphes, tels que le 2. le 5. le 6. le 11. le 13, &c. ont passé dans l'écriture courante, sans éprouver le moindre changement. Au reste, ce n'est ici que le leger essai d'une operation qui pourroit être poussée plus loin, et dans laquelle on appercevroit peut-être des rapports differens de ceux que j'ai établis entre certaines lettres egyptiennes prouve visiblement leur origine; et plus il est approfondi, plus il sert à confirmer le sentiment de M. Warburton, p. 69. Thus far this learned person. I have borrowed the scheme he refers to, and the reader will find it marked, plate VII.

employed

Hieroglyphics..	Letters.	N ^o I.	Hieroglyphics.	Letters.
1.	𐀀	𐀀	12.	𐀀
2.	𐀁	𐀁	13.	𐀁
3.	𐀂	𐀂	14.	𐀂
4.	𐀃	𐀃	15.	𐀃
5.	𐀄	𐀄	16.	𐀄
6.	𐀅	𐀅	17.	𐀅
7.	𐀆	𐀆	18.	𐀆
8.	𐀇	𐀇	19.	𐀇
9.	𐀈	𐀈	20.	𐀈
10.	𐀉	𐀉	21.	𐀉
11.	𐀊	𐀊	22.	𐀊

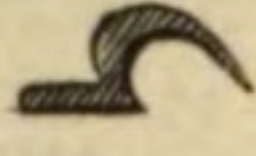
4, 16 4' ΔΥ 417A' 41xHSSb Δ7Hb p4y A'gH x4y4y
ΛSb p4yx xL VΔA' Δ 7Y47 p48v 4IL V Δxy 84y55
x! 85Δx Δ4Δ, 7A' 8 48 88 Δ7↑ ΛYΔ4y 44 Δ)A' 8 4 8
HΔyH 8 Δy7 Δhvx 88 ΛH67 Δ7↑

Nº III.

Hieroglyphics. Letters.

- 1.  H
- 2.  7
- 3.  X
- 4.  Λ

Hieroglyphics. Letters.

- 5.  Δ
- 6.  5
- 7.  4

employed in either of these places for *mystery* or concealment: what there was of this practice, therefore, in the middle stage of their cultivation amongst the Egyptians, we must needs conclude had some private or peculiar cause, unrelated to their general nature.

But the course of the Mexican empire was too short to improve picture into an hieroglyphic; and the Chinese, which, in its long duration, hath brought this picture down, thro' hieroglyphics, to a simple mark, or character, hath not yet (from the poverty of its inventive genius^z, and its aversion

^z M. Voltaire, in a discourse intitled, *Nouveau plan de l'Histoire de l'Esprit humain*, speaking of the Chinese printing, which is an impression from a solid block, and not by moveable types, says they have not adopted the latter method, *out of attachment to their old usages*. — On fait que cette Imprimerie est une gravure sur des planches de bois. L'Art de graver les caractères mobiles et de fonte, beaucoup supérieure à la leur, *n'a point encore été adopté par eux*, TANT ILS SONT ATTACHES A LEURS ANCIENS USAGES. Now I desire to know of M. Voltaire, how it was possible for them to adopt the method of a Font of types or moveable characters, unless they had an *alphabet*. That they had no such, Mr. Voltaire very well knew, as he gives us to understand, in the same place. L'art de faire connoître ses idées par l'écriture qui devroit n'être qu'une méthode très simple, est chez eux ce qu'ils ont de plus difficile; chaque mot a des caractères differens; un savant à la Chine est celui qui connoît le plus de ces caractères, et quelques uns sont arrivés à la vieillesse avant que de savoir bien écrire. Would not Caslon or Baskerville be finely employed to make a font of letters for this people, who have so many millions of real characters? But this historian of men and manners goes on in the same rambling incoherent manner, and so he can but discredit the Jewish history he cares little for the rest. — Qui leur donne une supériorité reconnue sur tous ceux qui rapportent l'origine des autres nations, c'est qu'on n'y voit aucun *prodige* aucune *prediction*, aucune même de ces fourberies politiques que nous attribuons aux Fondateurs des autres Etats, excepté peut-être ce qu'on a imputé à FOHI, d'avoir fait accroire qu'il avoit vu ses

sion to foreign commerce) been able to find out an abridgment of those marks, by letters: it was the old and well established monarchy of Egypt, so propitious to arts and civil policy, which carried the PICTURE, thro' all the stages of its improvement, quite down to LETTERS, the invention of this ingenious people^a.

Now such a general concurrence in the method of recording the thoughts, can never be supposed

Loix ecrites sur le dos d'un serpent ailé. Cette imputation même fait voir qu'on connaissait l'écriture avant *Fohi*. Enfin, ce n'est pas à nous, au bout de notre Occident, à contester les archives d'une nation qui était toute policée quand nous n'étions que des Sauvages.—First, China has the advantage of the western world, because the Founders of its religious policy employed neither Miracles nor Prophecies, nor the Founders of its civil policy state tricks and cheats, like other Leaders. And yet he is forced, before the words are well out of his mouth, to own that *Fohi* pretended to have seen his laws written upon the back of a winged Serpent: and one can hardly think that Fohi now gotten into so good a train would stop there. Secondly, By this, however, the historian gains (and he bids us observe it) a very early date for *writing* amongst the Chinese, whereas in truth they have no *writing* in the sense the historian gives to the word, even at this day: and as for Hieroglyphic Characters, all nations had them from the most early times, and as soon as men began to associate. Thirdly, We barbarians of yesterday must not pretend, he says, to contradict the records of this ancient nation. And why not, I pray, when superior Science has enabled this upstart people of the West to detect the falsehood of the Records of Egypt, a nation which pretended to as high antiquity as the Chinese. This they have done, and, I suppose, to the good liking of our historian, if ever he has heard of the names of Scaliger and Petavius, of Usher and Marsham.

^a Primi per *figuras animalium* ÆGYPTII sensus mentis effingebant; et antiquissima monumenta memoriæ humanæ impressa saxi cernuntur, et *litterarum* semel inventores perhibent; inde Phoenicas, quia mari præpollebant intulisse Græciæ, gloriamque adeptos, tanquam repererint, quæ acceperant. *Taciti An.* l. xi. c. 14.

the effect of chance, imitation, or partial purposes; but must needs be esteemed the uniform voice of nature, speaking to the first rude conceptions of mankind: for the reader may be pleased to observe, that not only the Chinese of the east, the Mexicans of the west, and the Egyptians of the south, but the Scythians likewise of the north, (not to speak of those intermediate inhabitants of the earth, the Indians, Phenicians, Ethiopians, Etruscans, &c.) all used the same way of writing by picture and hieroglyphic^b.

But to shew still clearer, that it was nature and necessity, not choice and artifice, which gave birth and continuance to these several species's of hieroglyphic writing, we shall now take a view of the rise and progress of its sister-art, the art of SPEECH; and having set them together and compared them, we shall see with pleasure, how great a lustre they mutually reflect upon one another; for, as St. Austin elegantly expresses it, *Signa sint VERBA VISIBILIA; verba, SIGNA AUDIBILIA.*

I. LANGUAGE, as appears from the nature of the thing, from the records of history, and

^b — Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἔ μόνον Αἰγυπτίων οἱ λογικῶτατοι, πρὸς δὲ, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων, ὅσοι φιλοσοφίας ἀρέχθησαν, τὸ συμβολικὸν εἶδος ἐξηλῶσαν· φασὶ γὰρ καὶ Ἰδανθέραν τῶν ΣΚΥΘΩΝ βασιλέα. &c. *Clem. Alex. Strom.* l. v. p. 567. Thus this learned Father; who being in the general prejudice that hieroglyphics were a late art, invented by philosophic men, to secrete their knowledge, expresses himself accordingly, ὅσοι φιλοσοφίας ἀρέχθησαν: and yet, methinks, the story he tells of the Scythian king might have directed him to another original.—Eustathius says the same thing: Οἱ δὲ γε παλαιοὶ, ὁποῖόν τι καὶ οἱ Αἰγύπτιον ἐποίουν, ζώδια τινὰ ἱερογλυφῆνες καὶ λοιπὰς δὲ χαρακίῃρας εἰς σημασίαν ὧν λέγειν ἐβόλοντο, ἔτω καὶ αὐτοὶ καθὰ καὶ τῶν τινες ὕστερον Σκυθῶν, ἐσημαίνον ἃ ἤθελον εἰδῶλ' αὐτὰ καὶ πολυειδῆ γράμματα ξέσματ' αὐτὰ ἐγγραφοῦντες.—*In Iliad.* vi. ver. 168.

from

from the remains of the most ancient languages yet remaining, was at first extremely rude, narrow, and equivocal^c; so that men would be perpetually at

^c In judging only from the nature of things, and without the surer light of Revelation, one should be apt to embrace the opinion of Diodorus Siculus [lib. ii.] and Vitruvius [lib. ii. cap. i.] that the first Men lived, for some time, in woods and caves, after the manner of beasts, uttering only confused and indistinct noises; till associating for mutual assistance, they came, by degrees, to use articulate sounds, mutually agreed upon, for the arbitrary signs or marks of those ideas in the mind of the speaker, which he wanted to communicate to the hearer. Hence the diversity of languages; for it is confessed on all hands, that speech is not innate. This is so natural an account of the original of language, and so unquestioned by Antiquity, that Gregory Nyssen [*adver. Eunomium*, lib. xii.] a father of the church, and Richard Simon [*Hist. Crit. du Vieux Test.* lib. i. cap. 14, & 15, lib. iii. cap. 21.] a priest of the Oratory, have both endeavoured to support this hypothesis: and yet, methinks, they should have known better; Scripture plainly informing us, that *language* had a different original. This was just the case of SACRIFICES. It is very easy to conceive, that one sort arose naturally from the sense of gratitude to our divine benefactor, and the other from a sense of our demerit towards him (as will be shewn hereafter) yet it is certain they were of divine appointment. In this indeed the two cases differ; *language*, I believe, had, for its sole original, divine instruction; whereas *sacrifices* amongst many people were certainly of human invention, and underived from tradition. But to return to the subject of language. It is strange, as I say, that these learned men should not have been better informed. We see, by Scripture, that God instructed the first man, in *religion*. And can we believe, he would not at the same time teach him *language*, so necessary to support the intercourse between man and his Maker? For Quietism is a thing of modern growth; this, with Mysticism of all kinds, is the issue of that wantonness which makes favoured man grow tired of his two greatest blessings, REASON and LANGUAGE.— If it be said, Man might gain language by the use of reason, I reply, so might he gain religion likewise: and that much easier and sooner. Again, when God created man, he made woman for his companion and associate; but the only means of enjoying this benefit is the use of speech. Can we think that God would
leave

at a loss, on any new conception, or uncommon accident, to explain themselves intelligibly to one another;

leave them to themselves, to get out of the forlorn condition of brutality as they could? But there is more than a probable support for this opinion. If I am not much mistaken, we have the express testimony of MOSES, that God did indeed teach men language: It is where he tells us, that *God brought every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air, unto Adam, to see what he would call them: and whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof. And Adam gave names to all cattle, and to the fowl of the air, and to every beast of the field.* GEN. ii. 19, 20. Here, by a common figure of speech, instead of directly relating the fact, that God taught men language, the historian represents it, by shewing God in the act of doing it, in a particular mode of information; and that, the most apposite we can conceive, namely, elementary instruction, in the giving names to substances; such as those with which Adam was to be most conversant, and which therefore had need of being distinguished each by its proper name: How familiar an image do these words convey of a learner of his rudiments? — *And God brought every beast, &c. to Adam to see what he would call them.* In a word, the prophet's manner of relating this important fact, has, in my opinion, an uncommon elegance. But men of warm imaginations overlooked this obvious and natural meaning to ramble after forced and mysterious senses, such as this, that Adam gave to every creature *a name expressive of its nature.* From which fantastic interpretation, all the wild visions of Hutchinson, and his cabalistic followers, seem to have arisen. Nor are the Freethinkers much behind them in absurdities. “Some (says Tindal) would be almost apt to imagine
“that the author of the book of GENESIS thought that words
“had ideas naturally fixed to them, and not by consent;
“otherwise, say they, how can we account for his supposing
“that God brought all animals before Adam, as soon as he
“was created, to give them names; and that *whatsoever Adam*
“*called every living creature, that was the name thereof?*”
[*Christianity as old as the creation.* 8^{vo}. ed. p. 228.] But tho' Moses thought no such thing, I can tell him of one who did. A very ancient writer, and frequently quoted by the men of this tribe to confront with Moses, I mean HERODOTUS; who not only thought this, but thought still more absurdly, that *Ideas had words naturally affixed to them.* See the famous tale of Psammetichus and his two boys, lib. ii. How would these men have rejoiced to catch Moses at the same advantage.—To conclude.

another; the art of enlarging language by a scientific analogy being a late invention: this would necessarily set them upon supplying the deficiencies of speech by apt and significant SIGNS^d. Accordingly, in the first ages of the world, mutual converse was upheld by a mixed discourse of words and ACTIONS; hence came the eastern phrase of *the voice of the sign*^e; and use and custom, as in most other affairs of life, improving what had arisen out of necessity, into ornament, this practice subsisted long after the necessity was over; especially amongst the eastern people, whose natural temperament inclined them to a mode of conversation, which so well exercised their vivacity, by motion; and so much gratified it, by a perpetual representation of material images. Of this we have innumerable instances in holy Scripture: as where the false prophet pushed with horns of iron, to denote the entire overthrow of the Syrians^f; where Jeremiah, by God's direction, hides the linen girdle in a hole of the rock near Euphrates^g; where

clude. From what hath been said, it appears, that God taught man, language: yet we cannot reasonably suppose it to be any other than what served his present use: after this, he was able of himself to improve and enlarge it, as his future occasions should require: consequently the first language must needs be very poor and narrow.

^d If this be true, it must be the case at all times, and in all places, where language remains within those narrow bounds. Thus Lafateau, speaking of the savages of North America, observes, *Ils parlent autant du GESTE que de la voix*. — *Mœurs des sauvages*, vol. i. p. 482. 4^o. edit.

^e EXOD. iv. 8. And not for the reason given by Le Clerc on the place, ideoque vox iis [prodigiis] tribuitur, cum eorum operâ Deus, non minus ac voce, suum hunc prophetam esse significaret.

^f 1 KINGS xxii. 11.

^g Chap. xiii.

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he breaks a potter's vessel in sight of the people^a; puts on bonds and yokesⁱ, and casts a book into Euphrates^k; where Ezekiel, by the same appointment, delineates the siege of Jerusalem on a tile^l; weighs the hair of his beard in balances^m; carries out his household-stuffⁿ; and joins together the two sticks for Judah and Israel^o. By these actions the prophets instructed the people in the will of God, and conversed with them in signs: but where God teaches the prophet, and in compliance to the custom of that time, condescends to the same mode of instruction, then the significative action is generally changed into a vision, either natural or extraordinary: as where the prophet Jeremiah is bid to regard the rod of the almond-tree, and the seething pot^p; the work on the potter's wheel^q, and the baskets of good and bad figs^r; and the prophet Ezekiel, the ideal scene of the resurrection of dry bones^s. The significative action, I say, was, in this case, generally changed into a vision; but not always. For as sometimes, where the instruction was for the people, the significative action was, perhaps, in *vision*: so, sometimes again, tho' the information was only for the prophet, God would set him upon a real expressive action, whose obvious meaning convey'd the intelligence proposed or sought. Of this, we shall give, at the expence of infidelity, a very illustrious instance^t. The excellent Maimonides, not attending to this primitive mode of information, is much scandalized at several of these actions, unbecoming, as

^a Chap. xix.ⁱ Chap. xxvii.^k Chap. li.^l Chap. iv.^m Chap. v.ⁿ Chap. xii.^o Chap. xxxvii. 16.^p Chap. i.^q Chap. xviii.^r Chap. xxiv.^s Chap. xxxvii. 2.^t See the case of Abraham, b. vi. sect. 5.

he supposed, the dignity of the prophetic office; and is therefore for resolving them in general, into supernatural visions, impressed on the imagination of the prophet^u; and this, because some few of them may, perhaps, admit of such an interpretation. In which he is followed by christian writers^x, much to the discredit, as I conceive, of Revelation; and to the triumph of libertinism and infidelity^y; the actions of the prophets being delivered as realities; and these writers representing

^u *More Nevachim*, P. ii. cap. xlv. which chapter he thus intitles, *Quod opera ea, quæ prophetæ dicunt se fecisse, non fuerint facta reverà & externè, sed tantum in visione prophetiæ*; and then goes on: — Scias ergo, quemadmodum in somnio accidit, ut homini videatur, ac si in hanc vel illam regionem profectus esset, uxorem in ea duxisset, ac ad tempus aliquod ibi habitasset, filium, quem N. appellârit, & qui talis aut talis fuerit, ex ea suscepisset; ita se quoque rem habere in illis parabolis prophetarum, quas vident aut faciunt in visione prophetiæ. Quicquid enim docent parabolæ illæ de actione aliquâ & rebus, quas propheta facit, de mensura & spatio temporis inter unam & alteram actionem, de profectioe ex uno loco in alium; illud omne non est nisi in visione prophetica, nequaquam verò sunt actiones veræ & in sensus incurientes, licet quædam partes præcisè & absolute commemorantur in libris prophetarum.

^x Vid. *Joannis Smith. Theol. Cantab. Dissertationem de Prophe-tia & Prophetis ex transl. Joannis Clerici*, cap. vi. and his late followers.

^y “ How many commands did God give his Prophets, which, “ if taken according to the letter, seem unworthy of God, as “ making them act like madmen or idiots? As for instance, “ the prophet *Isaiab* walked for three years together naked for a “ sign; *Jeremiah* is commanded to carry his girdle as far as *Euphrates*, — to make bands and yokes, &c. — *Ezekiel* is com-manded to draw *Jerusalem* on a tile, &c. &c.” [*Tindal's Chri-stianity as old as the Creation*, p. 229.] The prophet *Jeremiah* (says a learned writer) is ordered to buy a girdle, &c.—He is also sent about with yokes. — *Ezekiel* besieges a pan-tile. — He shaves his head and beard.—No reasonable man can believe these actions were really performed. See *Dissertation on the History and Character of Balaam*.

them

them as *mean, absurd and fanatical, and exposing the prophet to contempt*^z. But what is it they gain by this expedient? the charge of absurdity and fanaticism will follow the prophet in his visions, when they have removed it from his waking actions: for if these actions were absurd and fanatical in the real representation, they must needs be so in the imaginary; the same turn of mind operating both asleep and awake^a. The judicious reader therefore can-

^z — Quemadmodum autem vidit in visionibus [Propheta] quod jussus fuerit [EZECH. cap. viii.] fodere in pariete, ut intrare & videre posset, quid intus faciant, quod foderit, per foramen ingressus fuerit, & viderit id quod vidit; ita quoque id quod dictum est ad eum, *Et tu sume tibi laterem, &c.* [EZECH. cap. iv.] quod item alibi ei dictum legitur, *Novaculam hanc tonsoriam cape tibi,* [EZECH. cap. v.] ita, inquam, ista omnia in visione prophetiæ facta sunt, ac vidit, vel visum fuit ipsi, se ista opera facere, quæ ipsi præcipiebantur. Absit enim ut deus prophetas suos stultis vel ebriis similes reddat, eosque stultorum aut furiosorum actiones facere jubeat. *More New. P. ii. cap. 46.* But here the author's reasoning is defective, — because what Ezekiel saw in the *chambers of imagery* in his eighth chapter was in vision, therefore his *delineation of the plan of the siege*, and the *shaving his beard*, in the fourth and fifth chapters, were likewise in vision. But to make this illation logical, it is necessary that the circumstance in the eighth, and the circumstances in the fourth and fifth be shewn to be specifically the same; but examine them, and we shall find them very different: that in the eighth was to shew the Prophet the excessive idolatry of Jerusalem, by a sight of the very idolatry itself; those in the fourth and fifth, were to convey the will of God, by the Prophet to the people, in a symbolic action. Now in the first case, as we have shewn above, the information was properly by vision, and fully answer'd the purpose, namely the Prophet's information; but, in the *latter*, a vision had been improper; for a vision to the prophet was of itself, no information to the people.

^a “ Prophetic dreams and visions were so very lively (says
“ a learned writer) and affected the imagination with such force,
“ that the prophet himself could not at the time distinguish such
“ visions from realities. Something of this kind we experience in
“ our dreams and reveries.” — See Diss. on Balaam, p. 193.

not

not but observe that the reasonable and true defence of the prophetic writings is what is here offered: where we shew, that information by action was, at this time, and place, a very familiar mode of conversation. This once seen, all charge of absurdity, and suspicion of fanaticism, vanish of themselves: the *absurdity* of an action consists in its being extravagant and insignificant; but use and a fixed application made these in question both sober and pertinent: The *fanaticism* of an action consists in a fondness for unusual actions and foreign modes of speech; but those in question were idiomatic and familiar. To illustrate this last observation by a domestic example: when the sacred writers talk of being *born after the spirit*, of being *fed with the sincere milk of the word*, of *putting their tears into a bottle*, of *bearing testimony against lying vanities*, of *taking the veil from mens hearts*, and of *building up one another*; they speak the common, yet proper and pertinent phraseology of their country; and not the least imputation of fanaticism can stick upon these original expressions. But when we see our own countrymen reprobate their native idiom, and affect to employ only scripture phrases in their whole conversation, as if some inherent sanctity resided in the eastern modes of expression, we cannot chuse but suspect such men far gone in the delusions of a heated imagination. The same may be said of significative actions^b.

But it is not only in sacred story that we meet with the mode of *speaking by action*. Profane antiquity is full of these examples; and it is not unlikely but, in the course of our enquiry, we shall

^b See *Clem. Walker's* story of the fanatic soldier with his five lights. *Hist. Indep.* part II. p. 152.

have occasion to produce some of them: the early Oracles in particular, frequently employed it, as we learn from an old saying of Heraclitus: *That the king whose Oracle is at Delphi, neither speaks nor keeps silent, but reveals by SIGNS*^c.

Now this way of expressing the thoughts by ACTION perfectly coincided with that, of recording them by PICTURE. There is a remarkable case in ancient story, which shews the relation between *speaking by action* and *writing by picture*, so strongly, that we shall need no other proof of the similar nature of these two forms. It is told by Clemens Alexandrinus: *They say, that Idanthura, a king of the Scythians, (as Pherocydes Syrius relates the story) when ready to oppose Darius, who had passed the Ister, sent the Persian a symbol instead of letters, namely, a mouse, a frog, a bird, a dart, and a plow*^d. Thus this message being to supply both speech and writing, the purport of it was, we see, expressed by a composition of *action* and *picture*.

II. As speech became more cultivated, this rude manner of speaking by action was smoothed and polished into an APOLOGUE or *fable*; where the speaker, to inforce his purpose, by a suitable impression, told a familiar tale of his own invention,

^c Οὔτε λέγει, ἔτε κρύπτει, ἀλλὰ σημαίνει. *Plut. περὶ τῆ μὴ χεῖρ ἑρμηνεία*, p. 962. which being a less precise and more equivocal mode of information excellently well fitted the trade of oracles. The Lacedemonians [See Herodotus in *Thalia*] preferred it to speech for another reason, viz. to hinder their being misled by the illusions of oratory.

^d Φασὶ γὰρ καὶ Ἰδάνθουραν τῶν Σκυθῶν βασιλέα, ὡς ἰστορεῖ Φερεκύδης ὁ Σύριος, Δαρείῳ διαδάντι τὸν Ἰστρον πόλεμον ἀπειλῶντα πέμψαι σύμβολον ἀντὶ τῶν γραμμάτων, μῦν, βάτραχον, ὄρνιθα, οἶσον, ἀροῖον. *Strom. lib. v. p. 567.*

accompanied with such circumstances as made his design evident and persuasive: for language was yet too narrow, and the minds of men too undisciplin'd, to support only abstract reasoning and a direct address. We have a noble example of this form of instruction in the speech of Jotham to the men of Shechem; in which he upbraids their folly, and foretells their ruin, in chusing Abimelech for their king. As this is not only the oldest, but the most beautiful^e apologue of

^e The general moral, which is of great importance, and is inculcated with all imaginable force, is that weak and worthless men are ever most forward to thrust themselves into power; while the wise and good decline rule, and prize their native ease and freedom above all the equipage and trappings of grandeur. The vanity of base men in power is taught in the fifteenth verse, and the ridicule of that vanity is inimitably marked out in those circumstances; where the *bramble* is made to bid his new subjects, who wanted no shadow, to *come and put their trust in his*, who had none; and that, in case of disobedience, he would send out from himself *a fire, that should devour the cedars of Lebanon*, whenas *the fire of brambles*, and such like trash, was short and momentary even to a proverb, amongst the easterns.—TINDAL speaking of the necessity of the application of reason to scripture, in order to a right understanding of those passages in the Old Testament, where God speaks, or is spoken of, after the manner of men, as being *jealous, angry, repentant, reposing*, &c. (Modes of expression very apposite, where the subject is God's moral government of the world; very necessary, where 'tis his civil government of a particular people.) Tindal, I say, brings this in, amongst his instances.—*Wine, that cheareth god and man*; as if Jotham had meant God, the governor of the universe; when all, who can read antiquity, must see his meaning to be, that *wine cheareth hero-gods and common men*. For Jotham is here speaking to an idolatrous city, which *ran a whoring after Baalim, and made Baalberith their god*; a God sprung from amongst men, as may be partly collected from his name, as well as from divers other circumstances of the story. But our critic, who could not see the sense, it is certain, saw nothing of the beauty of the expression; which contains one of the finest strokes of ridicule in the whole apologue, so much abund-

of antiquity, I shall need no excuse for transcribing it: “ The trees went forth on a time to anoint a
 “ king over them, and they said unto the olive-
 “ tree, Reign thou over us. But the olive-tree
 “ said unto them, Should I leave my fatness,
 “ wherewith, by me, they honour God and man,
 “ and go to be promoted over the trees? And the
 “ trees said to the fig-tree, Come thou, and reign
 “ over us. But the fig-tree said unto them,
 “ Should I forsake my sweetness, and my good
 “ fruit, and go to be promoted over the trees?
 “ Then said the trees unto the vine, Come thou,
 “ and reign over us. And the vine said unto
 “ them, Should I leave my wine, *which cheareth*
 “ *God and man*, and go to be promoted over the
 “ trees? Then said all the trees unto the bramble,
 “ Come thou and reign over us. And the bramble
 “ said unto the trees, If in truth ye anoint me
 “ king over you, then come and put your trust
 “ in my shadow: and if not, let fire come
 “ out of the bramble, and devour the cedars of
 “ Lebanon ^f.”

How

abounding with them; and insinuates to the Shechemites the vanity and pitiful original of their idolatrous gods, who were thought to be, or really had been, *refreshed with wine*. Hesiod tells us, in a similar expression, *that the vengeance of the fates pursued the crimes of gods and men*:

Αἴτ' ἈΝΔΡΩΝ τε ΘΕΩΝ τε παραβασίας ἐφέπυσαι,
 Οὐδέποτε λήγῃσι θεαὶ δεινοῖο χόλοιο,
 Πρὶν γ' ἀπὸ τῷ δάωσι κακὴν ὅπιν ὅσις ἀμάρτη.

ΘΕΟΓ. ver. 220.

^f JUDGES ix. 7. COLLINS, the author of the *Scheme of literal prophecy considered*, speaking of Dean Sherlock's interpretation of GEN. iii. 15. says,—“ What the Dean just now said is
 “ nothing but an argument from the pretended absurdity of the
 “ literal sense, that supposes the most plain matter of fact to be

How nearly the *apologue* and *instruction by action* are related, may be seen in the account of Jeremiah's

" *fable, or parable, or allegory*; tho' it be suited to the notions
 " of the Ancients, *who thought that beasts had, in the first ages*
 " of the world, the use of speech, agreeable to what is related in
 " the Bible of Balaam's ass, and told after a *simple historical*
 " manner, like all the relations in the Old Testament, wherein
 " there is nothing favours of *allegory*, and every thing is plainly
 " and simply exposed." p. 234. By this it appears that Mr. Collins thought that *fable, parable, and allegory*, were the same mode of speech, whereas they are very different modes. A *fable* was a story familiarly told, without any pretended foundation of fact, with design to persuade the hearers of some truth in question; a *parable* was the same kind of story, more obscurely delivered; and an *allegory* was the relation of a real fact, delivered in symbolic terms: Of this kind was the story of the FALL; a real fact, told allegorically. According to Mr. Collins, it is a *fable* to be understood literally, because it was suited to the notions of the ancients, who thought that beasts had, in the first ages of the world, the use of speech. By the Ancients he must mean, if he means any thing to the purpose, those of the mosaic age: and this will be news. His authority is, in truth, an authentic one! It is Balaam's ass. — Agreeable, says he, to what is related in the Bible of Balaam's ass, and told after a simple historical manner. Now the Bible, to which he so confidently appeals, expressly tells us, that Balaam had the gift of prophecy; that an angel intervened; and that God Almighty opened the ass's mouth. But however he is pleased to conceal the matter, he had a much better proof that the Ancients thought beasts had the use of speech in the first ages of the world than Balaam's ass; and that was ESOP'S FABLES. And this might have led him rather to the story of Jotham, so plainly and simply exposed, that, had not only the serpent, but the tree of knowledge likewise spoken, he could have given a good account of the matter, by Jotham's fable; told after a simple historical manner, like all the relations in the Old Testament. A great improvement, believe me, this, to his discovery,—that the ancients thought not only that beasts, but that trees spoke in the first ages of the world. The Ancients! an' please you. It is true, they delighted in fabulous traditions. But what then? they had always the sense to give a sufficient cause to every effect. They never represented things out of nature, but when placed there by some God, who had nature in his power. Even Homer, the father of fables, when he makes the

miah's adventure with the Rechabites; ^g an instruction partaking of the joint nature of *action* and *apologue*.

This was the birth of the FABLE; a kind of speech which corresponds, in all respects, to *writing by hieroglyphics*, each being the symbol of something else understood. And, as it sometimes happened, when an Hieroglyphic became famous, it lost its particular signification, and assumed a general one; as the *Caduceus*, for instance, which was, at first, painted only to denote the pacific office of Hermes, became, in time, to be the common symbol of league and amity: so it was with the Apologue; of which, when any one became celebrated for the art and beauty of its composition, or for some extraordinary efficacy in its application, it was soon converted and worn into a PROVERB. We have a fine instance of this in the message of Jehoshaphat to Amaziah, “Saying, *The thistle that was in Lebanon, sent to the cedar that was in Lebanon, saying, Give thy daughter to my son to wife: and there passed by a wild beast that was in Lebanon, and trode down the thistle.* Thou hast indeed smitten Edom, and thine heart hath lifted thee up: glory of this, and tarry at home: for why shouldest thou meddle to thy hurt, that thou shouldest fall, even thou and Judah with thee? ^h” Where we see plainly that this satyric apologue of the thistle and cedar was now become a proverb: of a like kind is that of the

the horses of Achilles speak, or feel human passions, thinks it not enough to represent them as stimulated by a God, without informing us, that they themselves were of a celestial and immortal race.

^g C. xxxv.

^h 2 KINGS xiv. 9, 10.

prophet; *Howl, fir-tree, for the cedar is fallen*; ⁱ to denote the danger of the lower people, when their superiors cannot withstand the civil tempest.

III. But as speech improved into an art, the Apologue was contracted into a SIMILE, in which men consulted closeness as well as brevity; for here the subject itself being still kept in sight, there was no need, as in the Apologue, of a formal application: and how easily the Apologue slid into the *Similitude*, we may see by the following passage of Jeremiah, which, being something between both these forms of speech, communicates of either's nature: *The Lord called thy name a green olive-tree, fair and of goodly fruit: with the noise of a great tumult he hath kindled fire upon it, and the branches of it are broken*^k, &c. This way of speaking by Simile, we may conceive to answer to the *chinese marks* or characters in writing.

Again, as from such *marks* proceeded the abbreviated method of *alphabetic letters*, so from the Simile, to make language still more expedite and elegant, came the METAPHOR; which is indeed but a Simile in little: for men so conversant in *matter* still wanted sensible images to convey abstract ideas. The steps by which the *Simile* was contracted into the *Metaphor*, may be easily traced by a careful perusal of the prophetic writings; there being no mode of speech more common than that compounded of both; where the *Simile* is just about to be forsaken, and the *Metaphor* to be received. In this manner are God's judgments denounced against the king of Assyria: "Therefore thus saith the Lord God, because

ⁱ ZECH. c. xi, ver. 2.

^k 2 KINGS xi. 16.

" thou

“ thou hast lifted up thyself in height, and he
 “ hath shot up his top amongst the thick boughs,
 “ and his heart is lifted up in his height; I have
 “ therefore delivered him into the hand of the
 “ mighty one of the heathen: --- and strangers,
 “ the terrible of the nations, have cut him off,
 “ and have left him: upon the mountains and in
 “ all the valleys his branches are fallen, and his
 “ boughs are broken by all the rivers of the land,
 “ and all the people of the earth are gone down
 “ from his shadow, and have left him. Upon
 “ his ruin shall all the fowls of heaven remain,
 “ and all the beasts of the field shall be upon his
 “ branches. To the end that none of all the
 “ trees by the waters exalt themselves for their
 “ height, neither shoot up their top amongst the
 “ thick boughs¹.” Quintilian considering this

matter in an inverted order, yet makes an obser-
 vation, where he speaks of *metaphors*, much to
 our purpose.---Continuus [usus] vero in allego-
 riam et ænigmata exit^m. That is, As the allegory
 may, by degrees, be contracted into a Metaphor, so
 the Metaphor, by beating long upon it may be
 drawn back again into an allegory.

As the *Simile* slid into a *Metaphor*, so the me-
 taphor often softened into a simple EPITHET, which
 soon discharged all the colouring of the figure.
 This is observable in the words *decrepid*ⁿ, *capri-
 cious*, and a great many others, when applied either
 to the body or mind. Which being first used in

¹ EZEK. xxxi. 10, & seq.

^m L. viii. c. 6.

ⁿ DECREPITUS. Comparatio vitæ nostræ cum lucerna nota
 fuit Latinis, ut patet ex decrepitorum senum nuncupatione.
Prim. Scal. p. 48.

simile, then in *metaphor*, at length, by frequent use in *epithet*, lost the very memory of their original°.

Thus we see the common foundation of all these various modes of WRITING and SPEAKING, was a PICTURE OR IMAGE, presented to the *imagination* thro' the eyes and ears; which being the simplest and most universal of all kinds of information, (the first reaching those who could not decypher the arbitrary characters of an alphabet; and the latter instructing those who were yet strangers to abstract terms) we must needs conclude to be the natural inventions of rude necessity.

And here it may not be amiss to repeat an observation made before, that the primitive and more simple way of expression, whether in *writing* or *speaking*, did not always straight grow into disuse on the invention of a more improved manner. Thus we see in Scripture, the way of *speaking* by action was still used after the introduction of the Apologue; and the Apologue, after that of the Simile and Metaphor. And so again in *writing*; the first and simplest hieroglyphics continued to be used in Egypt, (as we shall see) long after the refinement of them into those more artful ones called *symbolical*; and these, after that further improvement into characters or *marks* resembling the chinese, and even after the invention of *letters*.

But how, as in these several modes of speech, so in the several forms of writing, men made a

° This account shews how ridiculously the critics were employed in seeking out the inventor of the Apologue; they might as well have sought for the inventor of the Metaphor, and carried their *researches* still further, and with Sancho Pancha inquired after the inventor of eating and drinking.

virtue

virtue of necessity, and turned that into ornament and mystery, which had its birth in poverty, and was brought up in simplicity and plainness, is to be our next enquiry.

II.

It is now, I suppose, apparent, that the hitherto received opinion, that the Egyptians invented hieroglyphics to *conceal* their knowledge, and render it mysterious, is altogether without foundation. However, as it is very certain they did, at length, *employ* hieroglyphic writing to such a purpose, it will be proper to examine how this came about; How one of the simplest and plainest means of instruction came to be converted into one of the most artificial and abstruse.

To support what we have to say on this head with proper authority, it will be necessary to produce two important passages from Porphyry and Clemens Alexandrinus, concerning the several natures and kinds of Egyptian writing. On these, we shall regulate our discourse; which will, in its turn, contribute to illustrate these passages, hitherto, as we conceive, very imperfectly understood.

But it will be proper first of all to give the reader a general idea of the several natures and kinds of Egyptian writing, according to the order of time in which each was invented and improved; and for the truth, as well as perfect intelligence of the account, refer him to the whole of the discourse.

Egyptian writing was of four kinds: the first, **HIEROGLYPHIC**, and this twofold: the more rude, called *curiologic*; and the more artificial, called *tropical*:

cal: the second, SYMBOLIC; and this likewise was twofold; the more simple, and the more mysterious; that *tropical*, this *allegorical*. These two kinds of writing, namely the hieroglyphic and symbolic, (which went under the generic term of *hieroglyphics*, distinguished into *proper*, and *symbolic* hieroglyphics) were not composed of the letters of an alphabet, but of marks or characters which stood for THINGS, not words. The third EPISTOLIC, so called, as we shall see, from its being first applied to *civil* matters: and the fourth and last, HIEROGRAMMATIC, from its being used only in *religious*. These two last kinds of writing, namely, the epistolic and hierogrammatic, expressed WORDS, and were formed by the letters of an alphabet.

We come now to the passages in question. Porphyry, speaking of Pythagoras, tells us: That *he sojourned with the priests in Egypt, and learnt the wisdom and the language of the country, together with their three sorts of letters, the EPISTOLIC, the HIEROGLYPHIC, and the SYMBOLIC; of which the HIEROGLYPHIC expressed the meaning of the writer, by an imitation or picture of the thing intended to be expressed; and the SYMBOLIC, by allegorical enigmas*^P. Clemens is larger and more explicit:

^P — Καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ μὲν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι συνῆν, καὶ τὴν σοφίαν ἐξέμαθε, καὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων φωνήν. Γραμμάτων δὲ τρισσὰς διαφορὰς, ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΩΝ τε, καὶ ΙΕΡΟΓΛΥΦΙΚΩΝ, καὶ ΣΥΜΒΟΛΙΚΩΝ· τῶν μὲν κοινολογημένων κατὰ μίμνησιν, τῶν δὲ ἀλληγορημένων κατὰ τινας αἰνισμούς. *De Vita Pythagoræ*, cap. xi. & xii. p. 15. Ed. Kusteri. *Holsenius* translates τῶν μὲν κοινολογημένων κατὰ μίμνησιν, τῶν δὲ ἀλληγορημένων κατὰ τινας αἰνισμούς, in this manner: — “Quorum illud
“ *propriam* ἔῃ *communem loquendi consuetudinem* imitatur; *reliqua*
“ *per allegorias sub quibusdam ænigmatum involucris sensum*
“ *exprimunt.*” By which, it seems, he understood τῶν μὲν κοινολογημένων κατὰ μίμνησιν to be an explanation of the nature of
epistolary

plicit : --- Now those who are instructed in the egyptian wisdom, learn first of all the method of their several

epistolary writing; and τῶν δὲ ἀλληγορευμένων καὶ τινὰς αἰνίγματας, of the nature both of *hieroglyphic* and *symbolic*; whereas the first words are an explanation of hieroglyphic writing, and the second only of symbolic. For Porphyry having named three kinds of writing, the first common to all people; the two other peculiar, at that time, to the Egyptians; when he comes to speak of their natures, he judiciously omits explaining the *epistolary*, which all the world knew, and confines his discourse to the *hieroglyphic* and *symbolic*. But was it, as Holstenius thought, that he explained the nature of the *epistolary* in the words τῶν μὲν κοινολογούμενων, &c. then has he entirely omitted the proper *hieroglyphic* (for the τῶν δὲ ἀλληγορευμένων, &c. relates only to the *symbolic*) which had been an unpardonable fault. But that this is Holstenius's mistake is further seen by the next passage from Clemens Alexandrinus: for what Porphyry calls *hieroglyphical* and *symbolical*, Clemens calls *hieroglyphical*; using *hieroglyphical* as a generic term, which Porphyry used as a specific. Clemens, I say, giving an account of the nature of hieroglyphic writing, tells us it was of two sorts; the one, ΚΥΡΙΟΛΟΓΕΙΤΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΙΜΗΣΙΝ, *directly and simply imitates the thing intended to be represented*; by this he meant the proper hieroglyphic (which Porphyry, in his enumeration of the kinds, distinguishes from the *symbolic*) and what is more, Porphyry seems to have borrowed his expression of τῶν μὲν κοινολογούμενων καὶ ἀ μίμησιν, from Clemens's κυριολογεῖται καὶ ἀ μίμησιν, by which this latter evidently meant to express the nature of the proper hieroglyphic. Besides, Clemens, who gives the nature of epistolary writing, with the same judgment that Porphyry omitted giving it, describes it in a very different manner, and with great propriety, thus, ἥς ἡ μὲν ἐστὶ διὰ τῶν πρώτων ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΝ ΚΥΡΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗ. Yet a learned writer, supported by the authority of Holstenius, which served his purpose in an argument for the low antiquity of Egypt, would persuade us that Porphyry did not mean by the expression κοινολογούμενα καὶ ἀ μίμησιν, that the characters he spoke of imitated the forms or figures of the things intended by them; FOR that was not the μίμησις which the ancient writers ascribed to LETTERS. [Sacr. and Prof. Hist. of the World connect. vol. ii. p. 296.] This argument is a *Petitio Principii*; which supposes Porphyry to be here describing epistolary writing. On this supposition the writer says, that the imitation of the forms or figures of things, is not the μίμησις the ancient writers ascribed to letters. Certainly it is not. But

several sorts of letters; the first of which is called EPISTOLIC; the second SACERDOTAL, as being used

But Porphyry is not speaking of letters, but of hieroglyphic figures: therefore *μίμησις* does here, and may any where, mean (because it is the literal sense of the word) imitation of the figure of things. However, let us consider his criticism on this word, tho' it makes so little to his purpose:—Socrates in Plato says, it seems, *ὁ διὰ τῶν συλλαβῶν τε καὶ γραμμάτων τὴν εἰσὶαν τῶν πραγμάτων ΑΠΟΜΙΜΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ* and the ancients, the learned writer tells us, *were exceeding philosophical in their accounts of both words and letters: when a word or sound was thought fully to express, according to their notions, the thing which it was designed to be the name of, then they called it the εἰκὼν, or picture of that thing.* The ancients were, without doubt, wonderfully profound; if we will believe Kircher and his school: but if a plain man may be heard, all the mystery of *μίμησις* and *εἰκὼν* was simply this: Alphabetic letters, as we have observed, sprung from hieroglyphic characters; and even received their form from thence. Now the ancients, as was very natural, when they spoke of the power of letters, and of words composed of letters, frequently transferred the terms *μίμησις* and *εἰκὼν*, to these, which properly belonged to hieroglyphic characters: a plain proof of this is the very word *ἀπομιμέομαι*, quoted by the learned writer from Plato; which literally signifies, *to imitate from an exemplar*, but figuratively, *to express*, at large: So *πλάσμα* originally signified any thing formed and fashioned by art; traductively, a similitude in speech, nay, the musical modulation of the voice. There is a remarkable passage in Plutarch's discourse of the *Pythian prophetess no longer rendering her prophecies in verse*; where the word *πλάσμα* is generally thought to be used in the first of these traductive senses, but I think it must be understood in the second; speaking of the ancient manner of delivering the oracles, he says, — *ἐκ ἀνῆδυστον, εὐδὲ λήην, ἀλλ' ἐν μέτρῳ καὶ ὄγκῳ καὶ ΠΛΑΣΜΑΤΙ καὶ μελαφοραῖς ὑνομάτων, καὶ μετ' αὐλῆς.* Mr. Le Clerc, [*De Prophetia*, p. 18. tom. iv. *Comm. in V. T.*] translates the latter part thus, *pedibus vincula, tumida, quæsitis & tralatitiis verbis constantia, & cum tibia pronunciata.* But *πλάσματι* signifies here, not *quæsitis verbis*, but that modulation of the voice which we may call *placida conformatio*, and is opposed to *ὄγκῳ*, a contrary modulation of the voice, which may be called *gravis conformatio*. These two were used in the theatre (to which the matter is compared) in a kind of *recitative* on the flute: so that what Plutarch would say, is this, that the ancient oracles were not only delivered in verse, and in a pompous figurative style, but were sung likewise to the flute. To *ὄγκῳ* and *πλάσματι* he opposed

used by the sacred scribes; the last with which they conclude their instructions, HIEROGLYPHICAL. Of these different methods, the one is in the plain and common way of writing by the first elements of words, or letters of an alphabet; the other by SYMBOLS. Of the symbolic way of writing, which is of three kinds; the first is that plain and common one of imitating the figure of the thing represented; the second is by tropical marks; and the third, in a contrary way, of allegorizing by Enigmas. Of the first sort, namely, by a plain and direct imitation of the figure, let this stand for an instance: — to signify the sun, they

posed ἀνήδυνον, in the sense of untunable; and to μεταφοραῖς ὀνομασίτων he opposed λιτήν, plain, simple. Plutarch uses πλάσματος again in the sense of *conformatio*, where speaking of the elocution of Pericles, he calls it ΠΛΑΣΜΑ φωνῆς ἀθόρυγον, a composed modulation of voice. But Quintilian employs it in the very sense in question, to express a soft and delicate modulation of voice. Sit autem imprimis lectio virilis & cum suavitate quadam gravis, & non quidem prosæ similis, quia carmen est, & se poetæ canere testantur. Non tamen in canticum dissoluta, nec PLASMATE (ut nunc a plerisque fit) effœminata, l. i. c. 14. Hence again, in another traduction, *plasma* was used to signify a certain medicine, that speakers in public took to render their voice soft and harmonious,

Sede leges celsa, liquido cum plasmate guttur
Mobile conlueris ————— Pers. Sat. i. ver. 17.

Turnebus, not attending to this progressive change in the sense of words, and taking his signification of *plasma* from the passage of Quintilian, supposed that *plasma*, in this place of the poet, signifies not a medicament, but a soft and delicate modulation of the voice. — Est cum molli & tenera fictaque vocola poema eliquaverit udo gutture. Est enim *plasma*, ut alio loco docui, cum vox est tenera & mollis. On the other hand, Lubin, who had taken his signification of *plasma* from this place, will needs have the same word in the passage quoted above from Quintilian to signify not a soft and delicate modulation of the voice, but a medicament. Turnebi hujus loci explicatio, l. xxviii. c. 26. Adversar. mihi non placet, & hoc Quintiliani loco refutatur. Comment. in Pers.

made

made a circle; the moon, a half circle. The second, or tropical way of writing, is by changing and transferring the object with justness and propriety^a: this they do, sometimes by a simple change, sometimes by a complex multifarious transformation; thus they leave engraven^r on stones and pillars the praises of their kings, under the cover of theologic fables. Of the third sort, by enigmas, take this example: the oblique course of the stars occasioned their representing them by the bodies of serpents; but the sun they likened to a scarabæus, because this insect makes a round ball of beast's dung, and rolls it circularly, with its face opposed to that luminary^s.

Thus

^a κατ' οἰκειότητά μετ' ἀγούρας καὶ μεταλιθέυεις. That is, as I understand it, representing one thing by another, which other hath qualities bearing relation or analogy to the thing represented.

^r ἀναγράφει διατῶν ἀναγλύφων. The latin translator keeps close to his original, *anaglyphicis describunt*; and Stanley, [*Lives of Phil.* p. 350. ed. 3^d.] they write by *anaglyphics*: as if this was a new species of writing, now first mentioned by Clemens, and to be added to the other three: whereas, I suppose, it was Clemens's intention only to tell us that tropical symbols were chiefly to be met with on their stone monuments, engraven in relief: which was true.

^s Αὐτίκα οἱ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις παιδευόμενοι πρῶτον μὲν πάντων τῶν Αἰγυπτίων γραμμάτων μέθοδον ἐκμανθάνουσι, τὴν ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΗΝ καλεμένην· δευτέραν δὲ, τὴν ΙΕΡΑΤΙΚΗΝ, ἣν χρῶνται οἱ ἱερογραμματεῖς· ὑστάτην δὲ καὶ τελευταίαν, τὴν ΙΕΡΟΓΛΥΦΙΚΗΝ· ἥς ἡ μὲν ἐστὶ διατῶν πρῶτων σοιχείων κυριολογικὴ· ἡ δὲ, συμβολικὴ· τῆς δὲ συμβολικῆς ἡ μὲν κυριολογεῖται κατὰ μίμησιν· ἡ δ' ὥσπερ τροπικῶς γράφεται· ἡ δὲ ἀντικρὺς ἀλληγορεῖται κατὰ τινὰς αἰνιγμάς. Ἡλίον γὰρ γράφει βεβρόμενος, κύκλον ποιεῖσι· Σελήνην δὲ, σχῆμα μηνοειδὲς, κατὰ τὸ κυριολογούμενον εἶδεν· τροπικῶς δὲ, κατ' οἰκειότητά μετ' ἀγούρας καὶ μεταλιθέυεις, τὰ δ' ἐξαλλάττειν. τὰ δὲ, πολλαχῶς μετασχηματίζοντες, χαράττουσιν· τὰς γὰρ τῶν βασιλέων ἐπαῖνας θεολογούμενοις μύθοις παραδιδόντες ἀναγράφει διατῶν ἀναγλύφων· τὰς δὲ κατὰ τὰς αἰνιγμάς, τρίτην εἶδους, δείγμα ἔστω τόδε, τὰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων ἄστρων, διατὴν πορείαν τὴν λοξήν, ὅφρων σώμασιν ἀπείκαστον· τὴν δὲ Ἡλίον, τῇ τῷ

κατ'

Thus these two ancient Greeks: but both of them being in the general mistake concerning the

κανθάρα· ἐπειδὴ κυκλολογὸς ἐκ τῆς βοείης ὄντα σχῆμα πλάσσειν, ἀντιπρόσωπον κυλινδρεῖ. *Strom. lib. v. p. 555, 559. Ed. Morell.* — ἥς ἡ μὲν ἐστὶ διὰ τῶν πρώτων στοιχείων κυριολογικὴ· ἡ δὲ, συμβολικὴ, the latin translator turns thus, *Cujus una quidem est per prima elementa κυριολογικὴ, id est, proprie loquens; altera vero symbolica, id est, per signa significans.* This is so faithfully translated, that it preserves the very ambiguity of the original, and leaves us still to guess at the author's division. Marham takes it just wrong; and so does his nephew Stanley: the first of these learned men quotes and translates the passage thus: *Triplex erat apud Ægyptios characterum ratio, Ἐπιστολογραφικὴ, ad scribendas epistolas apta, sive vulgaris; Ἰεραλικὴ, qua utuntur Ἱερογραμματεῖς, qui de rebus sacris scribunt; Ἐ Ἱερογλυφικὴ, sacra sculptura; HUIUS duæ sunt species, Κυριολογικὴ, proprie loquens per prima elementa, Ἐ Συμβολικὴ, per signa* [*Can. Chron. p. 38. Franeq. Ed.*] The second thus,—*the last and most perfect, hieroglyphical; WHEREOF one is curiologic, the other symbolic.* [*Lives of Phil. p. 329. 3^d. ed.*] By this interpretation, the learned Father is, 1. made to enumerate three kinds of writing, but to explain only the last, namely *hieroglyphics*; 2. which is worse, he is made to say one kind of hieroglyphics was by letters of an alphabet; for that is the meaning of διὰ τῶν πρώτων στοιχείων: 3. which is still worse, he is made to divide hieroglyphics into two sorts, *curiologic* and *symbolic*; and *symbolic* into three sorts, *curiologic, tropical, and allegorical*; which makes the prior division into *curiologic* and *symbolic*, inaccurate and absurd; and spreads a general confusion over the whole passage. Their mistake seems to have arisen from supposing μεθόδε ἱερογλυφικῆς (the immediate antecedent) was understood at ἥς ἡ μὲν ἐστὶ; whereas it was the more remote antecedent, μεθόδε Αἰγυπτίων γραμμάτων: and what made them suppose this, was, I presume, the author's expressing the common plain way of writing by letters of an alphabet, and the common plain way of imitating by figures (two very different things) by the same words, κυριολογικὴ and κυριολογεῖται; not considering that διὰ τῶν πρώτων στοιχείων, joined to the adjective, signified writing by letters; and, κατὰ μίμησιν, joined to the verb, signified writing by figures. In a word then, the plain and easy meaning of Clemens is this,—“ The Egyptian method of writing was epistolic, “ sacerdotal, and hieroglyphical; of this method, the epistolic “ and sacerdotal were by letters of an alphabet, the hieroglyphical, by symbols: symbols were of three kinds, curiologic, tropical, and allegorical.”

original

original of the Egyptian hieroglyphics, it is no wonder their accounts should be inaccurate and confused. The first mistake common to both, and the natural consequence of that false principle, is making the EPISTOLARY writing first, in order of time, which was indeed the last. For that this was

* This was indeed a very logical conclusion from the opinion *that hieroglyphics were invented to hide mysteries*; but the high improbability of the fact should have led them, one would think, to the falshood of the premisses. That the Egyptians had *letters* before they had *hieroglyphics*, seems to me as extravagant as that they danced before they could walk; and, I believe, will seem so to all who consider the first part of this dissertation. However, a modern writer has taken up that opinion; and tells us in plain terms, that *the hieroglyphical way of writing was not the most ancient way of writing in Egypt*; [*Connect. of the Sacr. and Prof. Hist.* vol. i. p. 230. and again to the same purpose vol. ii. 293, 294.] partly, I presume, as it favoured the hypothesis of the low antiquity of Egypt; and partly, perhaps, in compliment to that consequential notion, that not only all arts and sciences came from the Hebrews, but all the vehicles of knowledge likewise; whence, particularly, the author of the *Court of the Gentiles* derives hieroglyphics. *The greatest pieces of the jewish wisdom, says Mr. Gale, were couched under the cover of symbols and types; whence the Egyptians and other nations borrowed their hieroglyphic and symbolic wisdom.* [Part i. p. 77.] But on what ground does the author of the *Connection* build, in support of his opinion? On this, that *letters* are very ancient; in which, without doubt, he is right: but surely not so ancient as he would have them. However, the Argument he uses is certainly a very perverse one: *There is one consideration more, says he, which makes it very probable that the use of LETTERS came from Noah, and out of the first world, and that is the account which the Chinese give of their LETTERS. They assert their first emperor, whom they name Fohy, to be the inventor of them; before Fohy they have no records, and their Fohy and Noah were the same person.* [vol. i. p. 236.] Now it unluckily happens that the Chinese are without LETTERS, even to this day. Nor are we, for all this, to think our author ignorant of the nature of the Chinese characters; for he tells us soon after, that *the Chinese have no notion of alphabetical letters, but make use of characters to express their meaning. Their characters are not designed*

was their sentiment appears from Clemens's calling hieroglyphic writing ὑστάτην καὶ τελευταίαν, the last and most perfect kind. The second common mistake is their counting but three sorts of writing, when, indeed, there were four; as is discoverable even from their own reckoning: Porphyry naming *epistolic*, *hieroglyphic*, and *symbolic*; Clemens, *epistolic*, *sacerdotal*, and *hieroglyphical*; the First leaving out *sacerdotal*, which the Second supplies; and the Second *symbolic*, which the First supplies. Their other mistakes are peculiar to each: Clemens errs most in enumerating the several sorts; and Porphyry in explaining their several natures.

This latter writer names the three sorts, *epistolic*, *hieroglyphic*, and *symbolic*; and this was not much amiss, because the fourth, the *hierogrammatic*, or *sacerdotal*, not differing from the *epistolic* in its nature, but only in its use, he comprized it, we may

to express words, for they are used by several neighbouring nations who differ in language. [p. 244.] Thus the learned writer, before he was aware, in endeavouring to prove letters of higher antiquity than *hieroglyphics*, hath proved just the contrary; even that hieroglyphic characters, not letters, were the writing so early as his Noah: For the Chinese characters are properly hieroglyphics, that is, marks for *things*, not *words*; and *hieroglyphics* they are called by all the missionaries from whom we have the most authentic accounts of China. But had their characters been indeed *letters*, as our author, in this place, by mistake supposed them, yet still his argument, would have had no weight; and I will beg leave to tell him why: The Chinese characters in use at present are very modern in comparison of the monarchy. The missionaries tell us (as may be seen by the quotations given above) that the Chinese character hath undergone several changes; that their first way of writing was, like the Mexican, by picture; that they then abbreviated it in the manner of the most ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics; and at length brought it, by many gradual improvements, to its present contracted form: yet a *real character* or *hieroglyphic* the Chinese writing still is; and so is likely to continue.

suppose, under the generic term of *epistolic*: but when he comes to explain the nature of the *symbolic*, which is performed two ways, *tropically* and *allegorically*, he quite omits the first, and insists only on the latter.

Clemens, on the other hand, gives us these three kinds, the *epistolic*, the *sacerdotal* or hierogrammatical, and the *hieroglyphical*. Here *epistolic* is used as a specific term, and *hieroglyphical* as a generic; just contrary to Porphyry, who, in his enumeration, employs them the other way: but then, as to their nature, Clemens says, the *epistolic* and *sacerdotal* were by letters of an alphabet, and the *hieroglyphic* by symbols: the first part of the explanation is exact. We have observed that Porphyry judiciously omits to explain epistolary writing, as supposing it to be well known: but Clemens, who adds to epistolary, *sacerdotal*, a way of writing, tho' like the epistolary, by an alphabet, yet being confined to the use of the priests, not so well known, he with equal judgment explains their nature: but the latter part of his account, where he says hieroglyphic writing was by symbols, making symbolic, which is a specific term, to be equivalent to hieroglyphical, which he uses generically, is an unlucky blunder; of which this is the consequence, that proceeding to divide *symbolic*, as a generic term, into three sorts, *curiologic*, *tropical* and *allegorical*; he falls into a direct contradiction: τῆς δὲ Συμβολικῆς, says he, ἡ μὲν κυριολογεῖται κατὰ μίμησιν, the first kind of symbolic writing is by a plain and simple imitation of the figure of the thing intended to be represented; which is directly contrary to the very nature of a symbol; a symbol being the representation of one thing by the figure of another. For instance, it was the bull Apis, and not the picture or

or image of Osiris, that was the *symbol* of Osiris: Clemens therefore, we conceive, should have said,--- *hieroglyphics* were written *curiologically* and *symbolically*; that the *curiologic hieroglyphics* were by *imitation*; the *symbolic*, by *conversion*; and that, of this *conversion*, there were two kinds, the *tropical* and *allegorical*; and then all had answered to his foregoing division. For the rest, He explains the nature of *curiologic* and *symbolic hieroglyphics* with sufficient exactness; save that the first instance he gives of *allegoric symbols* seems to belong to the *tropical*.

Thus we see how these writers contribute to the correcting one another's mistakes. What is necessary for the further clearing up their accounts, which, obscure as they are, are the best that antiquity will afford us, shall be occasionally considered as we go along.

Let us next enquire how HIEROGLYPHICS came to be employed for the *vehicle of mystery*.

I. The Egyptians, in the beginnings of their monarchy, wrote like all other infant nations, in a kind of universal character by picture; of which rude original essays, we have yet some traces remaining amongst the *hieroglyphics of Horapollo*; who tells us, that the ancient Egyptians painted a *man's two feet in water* to signify a *fuller*^u, and *smoke ascending upwards* to denote *fire*^x. But to render this rude invention less incommodious, they soon devised the more artful way of putting one single figure for the mark or representative of several

^u Horap. l. i. c. 65.

^x l. ii. c. 16.

things; and thus made their picture, and HIEROGLYPHIC.

This was the first improvement of that rude and barbarous way of recording mens ideas; and was practised in a twofold manner; the one more simple, by putting the principal part for the whole; the other more artificial, by putting one thing, of resembling qualities, for another. The first species was the CURIOLGIC HIEROGLYPHIC; the second, the TROPICAL HIEROGLYPHIC; the latter of which was a gradual improvement on the former; as appears both from the nature of the thing, and from the records of antiquity. Thus the *moon* was sometimes represented by a *half circle*, sometimes by a *cynocephalus*^y: The overflowings of the Nile, sometimes by a spreading *water in heaven and earth*, sometimes by a *lion*^z; (a hieroglyphic, we may suppose, invented after they had learnt a little astronomy :) a *judge*, sometimes by a *man without hands, holding down his eyes*^a, to denote the duty of being unmoved by interest or pity; sometimes by a *dog near a royal robe*^b; for they had a superstition that a dog, of all animals, was only privileged to see the gods; and it was an old custom for their judges to behold and examine their kings naked: now in all these instances we see the first hieroglyphic is *curiological*; the second, *tropical*.

The Egyptians therefore, employed, as we say, the *proper hieroglyphics* to record, openly and plainly, their laws, policies, public morals, and history; and in a word, all kinds of civil matters.

^y l. i. c. 14.

¶ *Osir.*—*Diod. Sic. lib. i.*

^z l. i. c. 21.

^b *Horap. l. i. c. 40.*

^a *Plutarch. Is.*

1. This is seen from those remaining monuments of old Egyptian wisdom, the OBELISKS^c.
That

^c A late curious Voyager, who had examined the larger PYRAMIDS with great exactness, and found no hieroglyphics inscribed upon them, either without or within, concludes, rather too hastily, that they were built before the use of hieroglyphic writing in Egypt; and from thence insinuates another conclusion, in favour of the absurd hypothesis here confuted, that hieroglyphics were not the first species of writing known in Egypt; and consequently, did not come from picture-writing, but from alphabetic marks; a foolish error, which betrays great ignorance in the natural progress of human knowledge. “ Si je suppose
“ (says Captain Norden) que les Pyramides, même les der-
“ nieres, ont été élevées avant que l’on eût l’usage des hiero-
“ glyphes, je ne l’avance sans fondement. Qui pourroit se
“ persuader, que les Egyptiens eussent laissé ces superbes
“ monumens, sans la moindre inscription hieroglyphique, eux,
“ qui, comme on l’observe de toutes parts, prodiguoient les
“ hieroglyphes sur tous les edifices de quelque consideration?
“ Or on n’en apperçoit aucun, ni au dedans, ni au dehors, des
“ pyramides, pas même sur les ruines des temples de la seconde
“ et de la troisième pyramide: n’est ce pas une preuve que
“ l’origine des pyramides précède celle des hieroglyphes, que
“ l’on regarde néanmoins comme les premiers caractères dont on
“ ait usé en Egypte.”—*Voyage d’Egypte*, 3^{me} partie p. 75.

The curious voyager not only satisfies himself in accounting for the want of hieroglyphic characters on the Pyramids, by their being built before the invention of such characters, but seems to value himself upon a discovery resulting from it, that *Hieroglyphics were not the first sort of writing in Egypt*. But there is a greater difficulty in this matter than he was aware of.

It hath been proved at large, that *marks for things*, by a kind of picture-writing, were the first rude effort of every people upon earth, to convey and perpetuate their intelligence, and conceptions to one another, as soon as they began to associate into tribes and nations. The Monuments in question are a proof that the erectors of them had advanced in the arts of civil life. No one then, who understands what Society is, can doubt but that the Egyptians had then a method of conveying their thoughts at a distance, by visible marks: and no one, acquainted with the slow progress of human inventions,

That very ancient one of Rameſſes, now ſtanding before the pontific palace in Rome, and firſt erected

can imagine that alphabetic writing was the firſt effort towards this conveyance. Hence ariſes the difficulty.

But this obſervation of the curious voyager, which furniſhes the difficulty, ſupplies the ſolution. Suppoſe only the Pyramids to be erected in the interval between the inventions of *curiologic* and *tropical* hieroglyphics, that is, between their natural and more artificial ſtate, and the difficulty vaniſhes: For in their natural ſtate, they would be only uſed out of neceſſity; and not for ornament, luxury, or decoration. So that it is no wonder we do not find them on the PYRAMIDS in pompous and flattering inſcriptions, like thoſe on the OBELISKS.

His obſervation, Norden, indeed, gives as a proof of the high antiquity of the pyramids; and very juſtly. But his Drawings furniſh us with another argument in ſupport of this truth, which he himſelf ſeems not to have conſidered: It is this, that the general idea of Egyptian architecture was entirely taken from the PYRAMIDS: which nothing ſure but the high veneration for them, increaſed by their remote antiquity, could poſſibly have occaſioned; ſince the figure of theſe ſepulchral monuments, ſo well adapted to triumph over time, is the moſt inconvenient that can poſſibly be imagined for habitable ſtructures, whether public or private; and exceedingly groteſque, in all others. And yet we ſee, from the ancient ruins of Egypt, of which this diligent and exact Traveller has given us ſo fine drawings, that all their buildings, without exception, were raiſed on the idea and genius of the Pyramids. We are ſurpriſed to find not only their ports, their door-ſteads, [See plates CIX.—CXVIII.] but even the very walls of their temples, [Pl. CXLVII.—VIII.—CLI.—CLIV.] nay, of their towns, narrowing upwards and inclining inwards, in the manner of a modern fortification. [Pl. XCIX.—CXV.—CXXXVIII.]—But to return to the ſolution given above: It may be ſaid, perhaps, “Allow the pyramids to have been erected in the interval between the invention of *curiologic* and *tropical* hieroglyphics, What hindered the Egyptians from ſcribbling over theſe bulky monuments with their firſt rude eſſays, as other barbarous nations have done upon their rocks? of which we find ſpecimens enough in Scandinavia, north-eaſt Tartary, and elſewhere.” Indeed I know of nothing but custom that hindered them; that ſovereign Miſtreſs of the world, who

erected to adorn the city of Heliopolis, is full of hieroglyphic characters; these Hermapion translated into

who only is of force to controll and conquer Nature: And that Custom did effectually hinder them, is very plain, from our finding no specimens of any of their first rude hieroglyphic paintings; though, from them, their improved hieroglyphics received their birth. Nor did they want, any more than other barbarians, their isolated rocks for this purpose: they had them very commodiously bordering on the Nile, and in view of all passengers. And on these, it is remarkable, they have inscribed their improved hieroglyphics, tho' we see no remains of any the earlier and ruder efforts of picture-writing.

But the modesty and reserve of this curious Traveller, and his deference to learned Antiquity deserves commendation. He is not of the number of those who expect more faith from their Reader than they commonly find, or venture to entertain him with discoveries which he did not expect. For the learned reader acquiesces in Antiquity; the sensible reader prefers the evidence of a contemporary writer to the conjectures of a modern traveller: yet such is the general humour of our Voyagers, that they think they do nothing, if they do not rectify the errors of Antiquity. I have an ingenious measurer of the Pyramids in my eye, and one of the latest too, [Dr. Shaw] who, in the passion for saying something new, assures us, that the opinion of their being SEPULCHRES, is an old inveterate mistake: that they are indeed no other than TEMPLES, for religious worship. To soften so rugged a paradox, he says, *there was no universal consent amongst the Ancients concerning the use or purpose for which these Pyramids were designed.* And was there any universal consent amongst them that snow was white? But would this save the modesty or understanding of him who should affirm, after a certain ancient Philosopher, that it was black? And yet such a one would have the advantage of our Traveller; who would be hard put to it to produce any Ancient, whether Philosopher or otherwise, who said the Pyramids were *Temples*. But if the positive and agreeing testimony of all the old writers extant, may be called *universal consent*, it certainly is not wanting. Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Pliny, Tacitus, &c. all assure us that the Pyramids were *Sepulchres*. Nay, Diodorus, to put the matter out of doubt, informs us that the sacred commentaries of their Priests said so. But our Traveller supposed this universal con-

into Greek ; and part of his translation is preserved in Ammianus Marcellinus. By which it appears, that the writing on this obelisk contained only a panegyric on Rameſſes, and a history of his conquests. But this was not the subject of one only, but of all the obelisks in general ^d. We have seen already, and shall see further, what Clemens Alexandrinus hath observed to this purpose. Diodorus saith, that *Sesostris erected two obelisks of very durable stone, each twenty cubits high ; on which he engraved the number of his forces, the particulars of his revenue, and a catalogue of the nations he had conquered*^e. At Thebes, Strabo telleth us, there were certain obelisks with inscriptions recording the riches and power of their kings, and the extensiveness of their dominion, stretching into Scythia, Bactria, India, and the country now called Ionia ; together with the multitude of their tributes, and the number

sent to be shaken at least, by Pliny, who tells us, *they were built for ostentation, and to keep an idle people in employment*. As if this intimated that, in Pliny's opinion, they were not Sepulchres ! Suppose I should say the great Arch at Blenheim was *built for ostentation* ; and if not to set an idle people to work, yet at least to make them stare : Does this contradict the universal consent of its being a Bridge, tho' as much too large for the water that runs under it, as the Pyramids were for the bodies contained in them. In a word, Pliny is not speaking of the *use* to which the buildings were applied, but of the *motives* for their erection.

^d O Ægypte, Ægypte, Religionum tuarum solæ supererunt fabulæ, et æque incredibiles Posteris suis ; solaque supererunt verba LAPIDIBUS incisa, TUA FACTA NARRANTIBUS. *Apuleius*, Elmenh. ed. p. 90.

^e δύο δὲ λιθίνας Ὀβελίσκους ἐκ τοῦ σκληροῦ λίθου, πηχῶν τὸ ὕψος εἰκοσι πρὸς τοῖς ἐκτὸν, ἐφ' ὧν ἐπέγραψε τότε μέγεθος τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν προσόδων, καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν κατὰπολεμηθέντων ἐθνῶν. lib. i. p. 37. S. E.

of the soldiery, which consisted of a million of men^f: And Proclus assureth us, That the Egyptians recorded all singular events, memorable actions and new inventions on columns, or stone pillars^g. Tacitus is more particular than the rest; for speaking of Germanicus's voyage into Egypt, and his curiosity in examining its antiquities, he saith: *Mox visit veterum Thebarum magna vestigia; & manebant structis molibus litteræ Aegyptiæ, priorum opulentiam complexæ: jussusque è senioribus sacerdotum patrium sermonem interpretari, referebat habitasse quondam septingenta millia ætate militari: atque eo cum exercitu regem Rhamsen Libya, Æthiopia, Medisque & Persis, & Bactriano, ac Scythia potitum. Quasque terras Syri Armenique & contigui Cappadoces colunt, inde Bythynum, hinc Lycium ad mare imperio tenuisse. Legebantur & indicta gentibus tributa, pondus argenti & auri, numerus armorum equorumque, & dona templis ebur atque odores, quasque copias frumenti & omnium utensilium quæque natio penderet, haud minus magnifica, quam nunc, vi Parthorum, aut potentia Romana, jubentur^h. But to obviate at once all the cavils of Kircher against this concurrent testimony, I observe, in the last place, that it receives the fullest confirmation from that excellent treatise of Horapollo, which consists chiefly of the ancient and proper hieroglyphics; all of them relating to*

^f — ἐν δὲ ταῖς θήκαις ἐπὶ τινων ὀβελίσκων ἀναγραφαὶ δηλοῦσαι τὸν πλεῖστον τῶν τότε βασιλέων, καὶ τὴν ἐπικράτειαν, ὡς μέχρι Σκυθῶν, καὶ Βακτριῶν, καὶ Ἰνδῶν, καὶ τῆς γυνὶ Ἰωνίας διαλείνασαν· καὶ φόρων πλῆθος, καὶ στρατίας περὶ ἑκατὸν μυριάδας. l. xvii.

^g Αἰγυπτίοις δὲ ἔτι καὶ τὰ γεγονότα διὰ τῆς μνήμης αἰεὶ νέα πάρεσιν· ἡ δὲ μνήμη, διὰ τῆς ἱστορίας· αὕτη δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν συλῶν, ἐν αἷς ἀπεγεγράφοντο τὰ παράδοξα, καὶ τὰ θαύματα ἄξια τῶν πραγμάτων, εἴτε ἐν πράξεσιν, εἴτε ἐν εὐρέσεσιν. Procl. in Timæum, l. i. p. 31. f.

^h Annal. lib. ii.

civil life, and altogether unfit for the abstruse speculations of philosophy and theology.

2. This is further seen from that celebrated inscription on the temple of Minerva at Saïs, so much spoken of by the Ancients; where an infant, an old man, a hawk, a fish, and a river-horse, expressed this moral sentence, *All you who come into the world, and go out of it, know this, that the Gods hate impudence.* The excellent Stillingfleet, who was in the common opinion that the Egyptians invented hieroglyphics to *secrete* their profound wisdom, and that this inscription at Saïs was part of that wisdom, pronounces sentence from hence, on all their mystic learning in general:---
 “Certainly (says he) this kind of learning de-
 “serves the highest form amongst the *difficiles*
 “*nugæ*; and all these hieroglyphics put together,
 “will make but one good one, and should be for
 “---*labour lost*.” But there might be much knowledge in their mystic learning, whatever becomes of the hieroglyphical inscription at Saïs; which was indeed no part of that learning, but a plain and public admonition in the proper hieroglyphic; so far from being a *difficult trifle*, to be secreted, that it was a very plain and important truth to be read and understood by the people; as appears from the place where it was engraved, the vestibule of a public temple.

And here KIRCHER’s visionary labours on this subject might have been pitied, had he discovered in any of his voluminous writings on the Hieroglyphics, the least regard to truth or probability. This learned person had collected a fact from Antiquity,

ⁱ *Orig. Sacr.* l. ii. c. ii. p. 79.

which the notoriety of it will not suffer us to call in question, namely, that *the old Egyptians committed their profound and secret wisdom to the seal of hieroglyphics*. Egyptian wisdom was a matter of moment. But the learned Jesuit did not duly consider, whether any of the vehicles of that wisdom were yet in being; much less did he reflect that the same Antiquity which tells us they had much profound wisdom, tells us likewise, that it was all collected in their sacerdotal^k books, books long since lost; and that the ancient monuments of stone still remaining, were records of another nature. However, inflamed with the glory of a Discoverer, he launches out in search of this unknown World; guided by some of the latest greek writings, in conjunction with the earliest egyptian hieroglyphics. The greek writings indeed pretended (tho' very impudently^l) to ancient Egyptian wisdom; but these hieroglyphics constantly disclaimed it^m: By this direction he steered at large: and it is pleasant to see him labouring thro' half a dozen folios with the writings of late greek Platonists, and the forged books of Hermes, which contain a philosophy, not Egyptian, to explain and illustrate old monuments, not philosophical. While Hermapion, Diodorus, Strabo, Proclus, Tacitus and Pliny, are carefully avoided as false lights, which would drive him upon rocks and shallows. — But to proceed.

^k See *Clem. Alex. Strom.* l. vi.

^l Vol. i. b. iii. §. 4.

^m Thus in one place he expresses himself: — *Plerique ferè Herodotum, Diodorum, Plinium secuti, Obeliscos non nisi historicas regum veterum commemorationes continere opinati sunt; quod tamen falsum esse, ex dictis luce meridiana clarius patet.* p. 269, 270. of his *Oedip. Ægypt.* tom. iii.

II. Thus far went the two species, of the *proper* Hieroglyphic; which, in its last stage of the tropical, touched upon SYMBOLS (of which we are now to speak) they having this in common, that each *represented one thing by another*; in this they differed, that the *tropical Hieroglyphic* was employed to divulge; the *tropical Symbol*, to secrete: for all the several modes of writing by THINGS having had their progressive state, from less to more perfection, they easily fell into one another; so that there was but little difference between the *proper* Hieroglyphic in its last state, and the *symbolic* in its first. For this method of contriving *tropical hieroglyphics*, by similar properties, would of itself produce refinement and nice enquiry into the more hidden and abstruse qualities of things; which meeting at the same time with a temper now much turned to speculationⁿ on matters of theology and philosophy, would as naturally introduce a new species of zoographic writing, called by the ancients SYMBOLIC, and employed for SECRESY^o; which

ⁿ Ταύτη, ὃν Αἰγύπτιοι ὡς προσαγορεύουσι, σοφία διενεγκὼν παρὰ τοῖς Φοίνιξι, πρῶτον τὰ κατὰ τὴν θεοσέβειαν ἐκ τῆς τῶν χυδαίων ἀπειρίας, εἰς ἐπιστημονικὴν ἐμπειρίαν διέταξεν. *Sanch. apud Euseb. Pr. Evang. lib. i. cap. 10.*

^o Against this, a late furious writer objects—"But is it credible that the polite and learned priests of Egypt would use a method to hide and secrete their knowledge, which the more rude and barbarous nations employed to publish and divulge theirs? Or can you conceive that a curious and studied refinement of so knowing and enlightened a people as the Egyptians should be one and the very same thing with a rude and simple invention of those nations which were most barbarous and uncivilized?" *Jackson's Chron. V. iii. p. 357.*

I answer by another question — Is it credible that the polite and learned orators and historians of Greece and Rome should, out of choice, use a method [FIGURATIVE EXPRESSION] to perfect

which the high speculations, conveyed in it, required; and for which it was well fitted by the ænigmatic quaintness of its representations.

As the proper Hieroglyphics were of two kinds, *curiological* and *tropical*, so were SYMBOLS; the more natural, simply TROPICAL; the more artificial, ENIGMATICAL.

I. TROPICAL symbols were made by employing the less known properties of things. The quality was sometimes used for the sake of a fanciful resemblance; as a *cat* stood for the *moon*, because they observed the pupil of her eye to be filled and enlarged at the full moon, and to be contracted and diminished during its decrease^p; sometimes it was founded on the natural history of an animal; as a *serpent* represented the *divine nature*, on account of its great vigour and spirit, its long age and revire-

perfect their eloquence, which the first rude and barbarous nations employed, out of necessity, and which rude and barbarous nations still employ, for want of intellectual ideas, and more abstract terms? Or can you conceive, that a curious and studied refinement of dress, in so knowing and enlightened a people as the present French, should be one and the same thing with the rude and simple invention of leathern garments to cover nakedness, amongst the Laplanders, a people most barbarous and uncivilized? But if it displeases our Chronologist, that so enlightened and refined a people as the Egyptians should pride themselves in the rude and simple invention of barbarians: what will he say to find, that the most savage people upon earth go a step beyond the most polished, in the delicacy and luxury of speech? Yet this is the case of the Greenlanders, or the missionary Egede deceives us. The women (says he) have a dialect different from the men, making use of the softest letters at the ends of words, instead of the hard ones. Hist. of Greenland, p. 160.

^p αἱ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ὀμμασιν αὐτῆς κόραι πληρῆσθαι μὲν καὶ πλάτύνεσθαι δοκῶσιν ἐν πανσελήνῳ, λεπτύνεσθαι δὲ καὶ μαρτυρεῖν ἐν ταῖς μειώσεσι τῆ ἄστρ. Plut. de Is. & Os.

science.

science^a. How easily the *tropical hieroglyphic* fell into the *tropical symbol*, we may see by the following instances: *eternity* was sometimes expressed by the sun and moon, sometimes by the basilisk^r; *Egypt*, sometimes by the crocodile, sometimes by a burning censer with a heart upon it^s: where the simplicity of the first representation and the abstruseness of the latter, in each instance, shew, that the one was a *tropical hieroglyphic* employed for communication; the other a *tropical symbol* contrived for secrecy.

2. ENIGMATIC symbols were formed by the mysterious assemblage of different things, as in the *Caduceus*; or of the parts of different animals, as in a *serpent with a hawk's head*^t; or of things and animals together, as in a serpent with a hawk's head in a circle^u: the change of the *tropical* into the *enigmatic* symbol is seen in this, To signify the sun, they sometimes^x painted a *hawk*, and this was *tropical*; sometimes a *scarabæus with a round ball in its claws*, and this, as we see in Clemens, was of the *enigmatic* kind. Thus at length, though by insensible degrees, these characters, called *enigmatic symbols*, became immensely distant from those called *curiologic hieroglyphics*: to conceive this, the reader need only cast his eye on two the most celebrated of the Egyptian hieroglyphics employed to denote the *universal Nature*; namely the *Diana Multimammia*^y; and the *winged globe with a serpent*

^a Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. i. cap. 10.

i. c. 1.

^s Lib. i. c. 22.

^r Herap. l.

^t Euseb. Præp.

Evang. lib. i. cap. 10.

^u Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. i.

cap. 10.

^x Herap. l. i. c. 6.

^y This hieroglyphic likewise signified the *earth*; for the first rude mortals imagined, that that which sustained them was the Deity

serpent issuing from it^z; the first is in the very simplest stile, of a *curiologic hieroglyphic*; the other mysterious assemblage, is an *enigmatic symbol*: but, under the first figure, we must observe that the *universal Nature* was considered *physically*; under the latter, *metaphysically*; agreeably to the different genius of the times in which each was invented.

But this was not all: the Egyptian Hieroglyphic, in passing from an instrument of open communication, to a vehicle of secrecy, suffered another and more remarkable change. We have observed before, that the early Egyptian hieroglyphics resem-

Deity which gave them Being. So Hesiod, who took his notions of the *earth* from the Egyptians, describes her after their paintings; ΓΑΙ' ΕΡΥΣΤΕΡΝΟΣ, which the figure of the Diana multimammia well explains. But Shakespear, who, as Mr. Pope finely observes, had *immediately from nature what the two Greek poets, Homer and Hesiod, received through Egyptian strainers*, paints this famous hieroglyphic with much more life and spirit,

“ Common Mother thou!
“ Whose womb unmeasurable and INFINITE BREAST
“ Teems and feeds all.”

That Hesiod had there the egyptian Goddess in his mind, is plain from the character he gives of her in the words subjoined,

πάντων ἔδ᾽ ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ
Ἀθανάτων,

for the *earth* was the first habitation of those Gods which Greece borrowed of the Egyptians: from whence, as the poet insinuates, they were transferred into heaven:

Γαῖα δέ τοι πρῶτον μὲν ἐγένετο ἴσον ἑαυτῇ
Οὐρανὸν ἀστερόενθ', ἵνα μιν περὶ πάντα καλύπτῃ,
Ὅφρ' εἴη μακάρεσσι θεοῖς ἔδ᾽ ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ.

^z See the *Bembine table*.

bled,

bled, in this, the Mexican, that what things had bodily form were generally represented by figures; what had not, by marks or characters. Which we find verified in the most ancient of the Egyptian Obelisks yet remaining. The reader need but cast his eye into Kircher, to see how exactly their hieroglyphics, in this point, resembled the *American*, published by Purchas, not only in their use, which as Purchas^a and Diodorus^b say, were to record the number of their troops, the particulars of their revenue, and the names of their conquered towns and provinces; but likewise in their forms and figures. But when now every thing was directed to secrecy and mystery, *modes* as well as *substances* were painted by *images*^c. Thus *openness* was expressed by a hare^d, *destruction* by a mouse^e, *uncleanness* by a wild goat^f, *impudence* by a fly^g, *knowledge* by an ant^h, *aversion* by a wolfⁱ, *anger* by a cynocephalus^k, &c. And to make the matter still more mysterious, one animal was made to represent many and very contrary moral modes; thus the *hawk* signified sublimity, humility, victory, excellence^l, &c. On the contrary, and for the same reason, one thing was represented by many and various hieroglyphics; sometimes for an addition, out of choice, to confound the vulgar; sometimes for a change, out of necessity, when a hieroglyphic by long or frequent use was become vulgar or common.

Now the ancient Greeks, though they saw this to be a different species of writing from the proper

^a See p. 69.

^b See p. 124.

^c See p. 85.

^d *Horap.* l. i. c. 26.

^e c. 50.

^f c. 49.

^g c.

51.

^h c. 52.

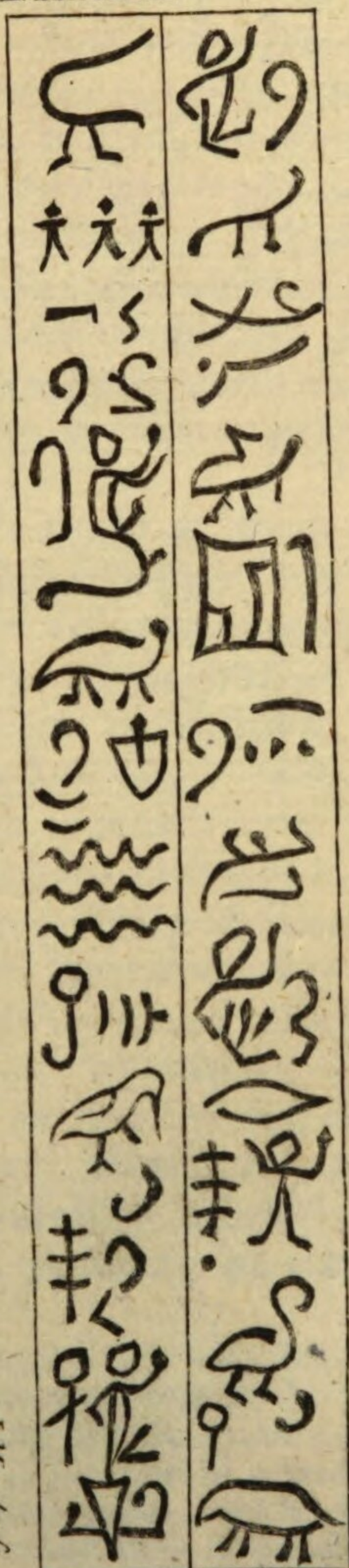
ⁱ l. ii. c. 22.

^k l. i. c. 14.

^l l. i. c. 6.

hieroglyphic,

Part of one side of the Florentine Ostrich from Kircher.



hieroglyphic, and accordingly, as we find by Porphyry, distinguished them into two kinds, *hieroglyphical* and *symbolical*, yet confounding their original, in supposing both invented out of choice, have not accurately distinguished either their different natures or uses: they took it for granted that the *hieroglyphic*, as well as *symbol*, was a mysterious representation; and, what was worse, a representation of speculative notions in philosophy and theology; whereas it was used only in public and open writings, to register their civil policy and history: These mistakes involved the whole history of hieroglyphic writing in infinite confusion.

But it is now time to speak of an alteration, which this change of the subject and manner of expression made in the DELINEATION of hieroglyphic figures. Hitherto the animal or thing representing was drawn out graphically; but when the study of philosophy (which had occasioned *symbolic* writing) had inclined their learned to write much, and variously; that exact manner of delineation would be as well too tedious as too voluminous: by degrees therefore, they perfected another character, which we may call the *running hand* of hieroglyphics, resembling the chinese writing, which being at first formed only by the outlines of each figure^m, became at length a kind of marks. One natural effect which this running-hand would, in time, produce, we must not omit

^m A very curious specimen of this hasty delineation of the outlines of the figures (which gave birth to the running hand character we are here speaking of) the reader will find in Kircher, p. 350. of his *Oedip. Ægypt.* tom. iii. where he has given the characters on the florentine obelisk, which, though dignified by that name, is only a late mimic in miniature of the superb monuments so intitled. See plate VIII.

to mention; it was, that the use would take off the attention from the *symbol*, and fix it on the *thing signified*; by which means the study of symbolic writing would be much abbreviated, the reader or decypherer having then little to do, but to remember the power of the symbolic mark; whereas before, the properties of the thing or animal employed as a symbol, were to be learnt: in a word, this, together with their other *marks by institution*, to design mental ideas, would reduce the characters to the present state of the *Chinese*. And these were properly what the ancients call HIEROGRAPHICALⁿ; used afterwards on subjects

ⁿ The account which a missionary jesuit gives us of the several sorts of writing amongst the Chinese will illustrate this matter: — *Parmi ces caracteres il y en a de plusieurs sortes. Les premiers ne sont presque plus d'usage, & on ne les conserve que pour faire honneur à l'antiquité. Les seconds beaucoup moins anciens n'ont place que dans les inscriptions publiques: quand on en a besoin, on consulte les livres, & à la faveur des dictionnaires il est facile de les deciffer. Les troisiemes, beaucoup plus reguliers & plus beaux, servent dans l'impression & même dans l'écriture ordinaire. Neanmoins comme les traits en sont bien formez, il faut un temps considerable pour les écrire; c'est pour cela qu'on a trouvé une quatrieme espece d'écriture, dont les traits plus liez & moins distinguez les uns des autres, donnent la facilité d'écrire plus viste — ces trois derniers caracteres ont entre eux beaucoup de ressemblance, & répondent assez à nos lettres capitales, aux lettres d'impression, & à l'écriture ordinaire. — Nouveaux Memoires sur l'état present de la Chine, par le P. L. Le Comte, tom. i. Amst. 1698, p. 258—9.* And here let me just take notice of a ridiculous mistake into which the equivocation of the word *Notæ* (a term signifying as well *short hand* characters, as *hieroglyphical*) drew a certain learned grammarian: who in a letter to his friend [*Gloss. Ant. Rom.* p. 414. ed. 1731.] undertaking to give the original of *short hand* characters, rejects the account of the ancients (which makes them a Roman invention) to fetch them from the Barbarians; and will have them to be indeed the same as the *Ignorabiles Literæ* of the Egyptians (mentioned by Apuleius) and the present chinese characters; that is, real *hieroglyphics*. But had he considered, that the *notes of short hand* were marks for

subjects which had employed the ancient hieroglyphic, as we may see by what follows: Dr. Robert Huntington, in his *Account of the porphyry pillars in Egypt*^o, tells us, there are yet some ancient monuments remaining of this kind of writing:—"The Franks (says he) call these
 "pillars *Aguglia's*, and the English, in particular, *Cleopatra's needles*; but the inhabitants content themselves with the general name of pillars.
 "They have no bases or pedestals above ground;
 "and if they ever had any, they must needs be
 "very deep in the earth. The hieroglyphic
 "characters, wherewith they are engraven, are
 "probably the aboriginal egyptian letters, long
 "become obsolete, and they resemble the chinese
 "characters, each whereof represents a word, or
 "rather an entire sentence; besides they seem to
 "be written the same way, namely from top to
 "bottom." Apuleius^p, speaking of his initiation into the mysteries of Isis, describes the sacred book or ritual (which we find was written partly in *symbolic*, and partly in these *hieroglyphic* characters of arbitrary institution, resembling the Chinese) in this

for *words*, and the *notes of hieroglyphics* marks for *things*, he would have seen that they had no manner of relation to one another, but were of different original, and employed to different ends: He thinks, however, he has found a support for his notion in St. Jerom; who, he says, tells us somewhere or other, that they came from the Barbarians: *Restant adhuc NOTÆ, quæ cum ex Barbarorum puto ortu natæ sint, rationem amisere.* But without searching for the place, and recurring to the context, we may safely pronounce, that St. Jerom meant here by NOTÆ, not *the notes of short hand*, but *hieroglyphic notes*; by his saying of them *rationem amisere*; which was not true of *short hand notes*, but very true of *hieroglyphical*.

^o *Philos. Trans.* N°. CLXI. p. 624.
 lib. ii.

^p *Metamorphosis*,

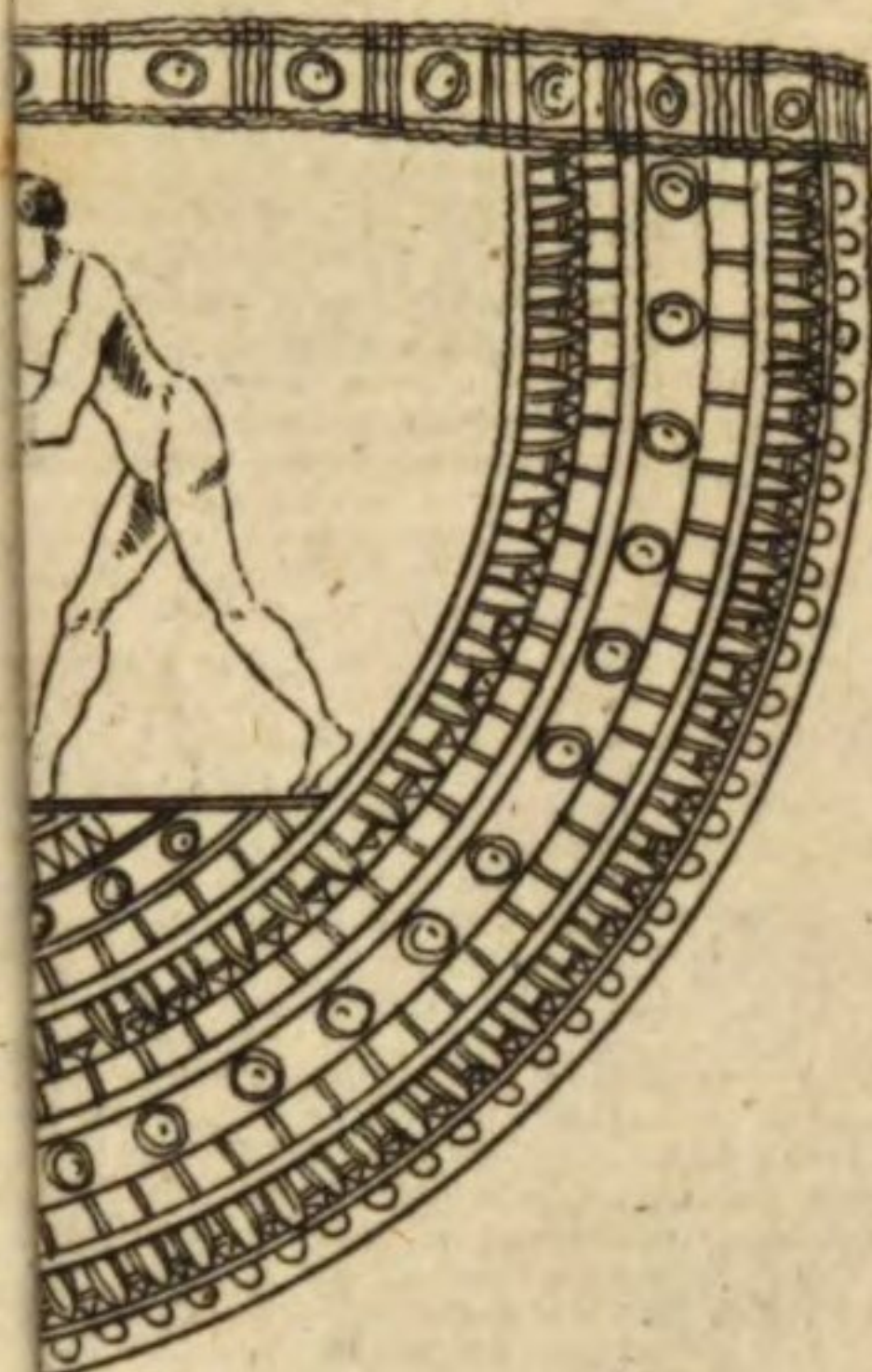
manner:—" He [the Hierophant] drew out certain books from the secret repositories of the Sanctuary, written in unknown characters, which contained the words of the sacred Formula, compendiously expressed, partly by FIGURES of animals, and partly by certain MARKS or notes, intricately knotted, revolving in the manner of a wheel, and crowded together and curled inward like the tendrils of a vine⁹, so as to hide the meaning from the curiosity of the prophane^r." The characters here described, may be seen in almost every compartment of the *Bembine-table*, between the larger human figures; and likewise on several of the *obelisks*, where they are disposed in the same manner. As we find these characters mixed with the *symbolic*, in the ritual of Apuleius; so in the *Bembine-table* we find them mixed both with the *proper hieroglyphic* and the *symbolic*.

III. And now this contracted manner of hieroglyphic writing called *hierographical*, will lead us, by an easy step, to the *third* species, called by Porphyry and Clemens the *EPISTOLIC*: For now we are come to one of those links of the chain which served to connect *hieroglyphic marks* and *alphabetic letters*; the first of which contained *curiologic* or *symbolic* signs of things; the other comprised signs of words by *arbitrary institution*. For those hieroglyphic marks which were SIGNS OF THINGS

⁹ For a specimen of the marks thus described, see plate IX. fig. 1.

^r De opertis adyti profert quosdam libros, litteris ignorabilibus prænotatos: partim figuris cujuscemodi animalium, concepti sermonis compendiosa verba suggerentes; PARTIM NODOSIS, ET IN MODUM ROTÆ TORTUOSIS, CAPREOLATIMQUE CONDENSIS APICIBUS, a curiositate profanorum lectione munita.

Fig. 2.



J. Mynde sc.



lupus.
Idol it is we see worshiped Fig. 1.
Fig. 2. on which is depicted the
archers Oedipus.

BY ARBITRARY INSTITUTION, partook of the proper hieroglyphics in being *signs for things*, and of alphabetic letters in being *signs by institution*. And the contrivance of employing these arbitrary marks to design all the primitive sounds of the human voice was inventing an *alphabet*. This was what the Egyptians called their EPISTOLIC writing. And, this, let me observe, the ancients agree was invented by the SECRETARY OF AN EGYPTIAN KING. A circumstance which will much conduce to the discovery of the cause of its original.

Now, as it is evident that every kind of hieroglyphic writing, when employed in public business to convey the royal commands to leaders of armies and distant governors, must be unavoidably attended with the inconveniencies of imperfect and obscure information, it was natural for our *Secretary* to set himself upon contriving a remedy: and this he found in the invention of the letters of an alphabet; serving to express *words*, not *things*; whereby all the inconveniencies of imperfect information, so fatal in nice conjunctures, were avoided, and the writer's mind delivered with the utmost clearness and precision: which too had this further advantage, that as the Government would endeavour to keep their invention to themselves, LETTERS OF STATE were, for some time, conveyed with the security of our modern cyphers^s: and thus, being at first appropriated to the use of the cabinet, literary writing naturally acquired the name of EPISTO-

^s It was an ancient custom, as Diodorus tells us, for the kings of Egypt to read all the letters of state, themselves. —
 ἔωθεν μὲν γὰρ ἐγεσθῆναι λαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἔδει πρῶτον τὰς πάντα χόθεν ἀπε-
 σταλμένας ἐπιστολάς, ἵνα δύναται πάντα καὶ τρόπον χρηματίζειν καὶ
 πράττειν εἰδὼς ἀκριβῶς ἕκαστα τῶν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν συλλελεγμένων.

LARY^t; which if you will not allow, no reasonable account, I think, can be given of its title.

That

^t To this, perhaps, it may be objected that *literary writing* had the name of *epistolary*, rather for its being afterwards employed in such kind of compositions; because Clemens Alexandrinus says, *That Atossa the Persian empress was the first that wrote epistles*: and Tatian, where he gives a list of some Inventors, expresses himself, from Hellanicus the historian, in this manner, Ἐπιστολὰς ΣΥΝΤΑΣΣΕΙΝ ἐξεῦρεν ἡ Περσῶν ποτε ἡγεσαμένη γυνή, καθάπερ φησὶν Ἑλλάνικος, Ἀτοσσα δὲ ὄνομα αὐτῇ ἦν. But to this it may be replied, that the supposition of literary writing's having the name of *epistolary* from any later application of alphabetic letters to this sort of composition, is very precarious: for it may be asked, why rather a name from *epistles* than from any nobler sort of composition, in which we must needs conclude letters had been employed, before the use of epistles, if epistles were so lately invented? But the truth is, if by συντάσσειν, which word Clemens likewise uses, we are to understand the *composing*, and not the *artificial closing and sealing up* of the tablets in which the Ancients wrote their epistles (the more natural sense of the word, and an invention more to the genius of a court lady) we must needs say the whole story of Atossa's invention is a very idle one, and worth only the attention of such triflers as the writers *Of the invention of things*; from whence Tatian and Clemens had it: they might as well have enquired after the inventors of *speech*: writing epistles being as early as the occasions of communicating the thoughts at a distance; that is, as early as human commerce. We find in the *Il.* 8th ver. 169. Bellerophon carrying an epistle from Prætus to Iobates. "No," says a great Critic, [See p. 539. of the *Dissertation upon Phalaris*] this was no epistle, as Pliny rightly remarks, but *codicilli*; and Homer himself calls it πῖναξ ὠκυκλός." I do not comprehend the force of the learned person's argument; the point between him and his noble adversary was concerning the *thing*, not the *name*; but Pliny's observation, and his own, is concerning the *name*, not the *thing*. Let what Bellerophon carried be πῖναξ ὠκυκλός, *small leaves of wood covered with wax, and written upon by a pen of metal*, yet was it essentially an *epistle*, if Cicero's definition of an *epistle* be a true one: *Hoc est*, says he, *Epistolæ proprium, ut is ad quem scribitur, de iis rebus quas ignorat, certior fiat*. Why Pliny said, this πῖναξ ὠκυκλός was not an *epistle*, but a *codicil*, was because small leaves of wood covered with wax, when written on, were called by his countrymen *codicilli*; and a missive-paper, *epistola*: that this was his meaning

That this was, indeed, the fact, appears from Plato's account of Theuth's INVENTIONS. He tells us that when Theuth came to consult his master, king Thamus, about communicating his discoveries to the people, *παρὰ τῷτον ἐλθὼν ὁ Θεὺς τὰς τέχνας ἐπέδειξε, καὶ ἔφη δεῖν διαδοθῆναι τοῖς ἄλλοις Αἰγυπτίοις*, the king declared particularly against communicating the invention of LETTERS. But the reason he gives for the prohibition, we see, was not the principal and more immediate, (as it rarely is amongst Politicians) but only a secondary, and more remote; namely, a regard to the interests of hieroglyphic learning: for the King tells his *Secretary*, that, if this secret should be divulged, men's attention would be called away from THINGS, to which hieroglyphics, and the manner of explaining them, necessarily attached it, and be placed in exterior and arbitrary SIGNS, which would prove the greatest hindrance to the progress of knowledge^u. What is still more pleasant, and in the true genius of politics, even the reason given was thought fit to be disguised: for tho' there might be some truth in this; yet, without doubt, the chief concern of the egyptian Priests was to continue themselves useful; which they would be, while science lay concealed in *hieroglyphics*.

Thus the reader finds, that the very contrary to the common opinion is the true; that it was the meaning appears from the account he gives of the pretended *paper epistle of Sarpedon* mentioned as a great rarity by Licinius Mucianus. [See the *Dissert.* mentioned above.]

^u Τοῦτο γὰρ τῶν μαθόντων λήθην μὲν ἐν ψυχαῖς παρέξει, μνήμης ἀμελεῖσθαι; ἅτε διὰ πίσιν γραφῆς ἔξωθεν ὑπ' ἀλλοτρίων τύπων ἐκ ἔνδοθεν αὐτοὺς ὑφ' αὐτῶν ἀναμιμνησκομένους. ἔκκεν μνήμης, ἀλλ' ὑπομνήσεως φαρμακὸν εὖρες, σοφίας δὲ τοῖς μαθηταῖς δόξαν ἐκ ἀλήθειαν πόριζεις.
Phæd.

first literary writing, not the *first hieroglyphical*, which was invented for *secrecy*. In the course of time, indeed, they naturally changed their use; *letters* became common, and *hieroglyphics* hidden and mysterious.

But now it may be said, that tho' the progress from a *Picture* to a simple *Mark* hath been traced out, step by step, and may be easily followed, till we come to that untried ground where ART takes the lead of nature, the point where *real* characters end and the *literary* begin; yet here, art seeing a precipice before her, which seems to divide the two characters to as great a distance as at first setting out, she takes so immense a leap as hath been thought to exceed all human efforts: which made Tully say, *Summæ sapientiæ fuisse sonos vocis*^x, *qui infiniti videbantur, paucis literarum notis terminare*^y; and many of the an-

^x By *sonos vocis* Cicero means *words*: It was impossible he could ever conceive that brute and inarticulate sounds were almost infinite.—See what is said on this matter below.

Long before this addition was made to the discourse on Hieroglyphic writing, one of the ablest Philosophers of this age, M. l'Abbé de Condillac, in his *Essai sur l'origine des connoissances humaines*, had the candour to say, that I had perfectly well discovered the progress by which men arrived to the invention of letters. Cette section [De L'écriture] says he, étoit presque achevée, quand l'*Essai sur les Hieroglyphes* traduit de l'Anglois de M. Warburton me tomba entre les mains: Ouvrage on l'esprit philosophique et l'erudition régnerent également, &c. mes propres reflexions m'avoient aussi conduit à remarquer que l'écriture n'avoit d'abord été qu'une simple peinture: mais je n'avois point encore tenté de découvrir par quels progrès on étoit arrivé à l'invention des lettres, et il me paroissoit difficile d'y réussir. La chose a été parfaitement exécutée par M. Warburton, p. 178. *sec. partie*.—My own countrymen have been less candid: and to them the above addition is owing.

^y Tusc. i. 25.

cients

cients to believe that LITERARY WRITING was an invention of the Gods.

However, if we would but reflect a little on the nature of sound, and its unheeded connexion with the objects of sight, we should be able to conceive how the chain closed, and how the passage from a *real* to a *literary* character was begun and smoothed out.

While the picture, or image of the thing represented, continued to be objected to the sight of the reader, it could raise no idea but of the thing itself. But when the *picture* lost its form, by being contracted into a *mark* or *note*, the view of this mark or note would, in course of time, as naturally raise, in the mind, the *sound* expressing the idea of the thing, as the idea itself. How this extension, from the idea to the sound, in the use of the real character first arose, will be easily conceived by those who reflect on the numerous tribe of words in all languages, which is formed on the sound emitted by the thing or animal^z.

Yet the use to which this new connexion might be applied, would never be thought of till the nature of human sounds had been well studied.

But when men had once observed, (and this they could but observe early and easily, by the brute and inarticulate sounds which they were perpetually hearing emitted) how small the number is of primitive sounds, and how infinite the words are

^z For example, (to use the words of St. Austin) when we say in latin, æris tinnitum, equorum hinnitum, ovium balatum, tubarum clangorem, stridorem catenarum, perspicis hæc verba ita sonare, ut res quæ his verbis significantur.

which

which may be formed by varied combinations of those simple sounds, it would naturally and easily occur to them, that a very few of those *marks*, which had before casually excited the sensation of those simple sounds, might be selected and formed into what has been since called an alphabet, to express them all: And then, their old accustomed way of combining primitive sounds into words, would as naturally and easily direct them to a like combination of what were now become the simple marks of sound; from whence would arise LITERARY WRITING.

In the early language of men, the simple, primitive sounds would be used, whether out of choice or necessity, as significative words or terms, to denote the most obvious of those things with which they perpetually conversed. These sounds, without arbitrary institution, would incite the idea of the thing, sometimes, as its *audible image*, sometimes, as its *natural representative*. Therefore the old *marks* for things, to which words of this original belonged, would certainly be first thought of for the figures of those *alphabetic* letters by the ingenious inventor of this wonderful contrivance. And, in fact, this which appears so natural has been found to be actually the case: the most early *alphabets* being framed from the outlines of those figures in the real characters, which, by use, in their *hieroglyphic* state, had arrived at the facility of exciting, in the mind, the SOUND as well as THING^a.

IV. But this *political* alphabet, as at first it was, soon occasioned the invention of another called SACRED: for the priests having a share in the

^a Plate VIII.

Government, must have an early communication of the secret; and being now immersed in deep philosophy, they would naturally employ, in their hidden doctrines, a method so well adapted to convey abstract speculations with exactness and precision. But the various uses of an Alphabet in civil business not permitting it to continue long a secret, when it ceased to be so, they would as naturally invent another alphabetic character for their *sacred* use: which from that appropriation was called HIEROGRAMMATICAL.

That the Egyptian priests had such a *sacred alphabetic character*, we are informed by Herodotus: —“ The Greeks (says he) write their letters, “ and make their computations with counters, “ from the left to the right; the Egyptians, on “ the contrary, from the right to the left.— “ They use two sorts of letters, one of which they “ called *sacred*, the other *popular* ^b.” Diodorus is yet more express; “ the PRIESTS (say he) taught “ their sons two sorts of letters, the one called “ *sacred*, the other, the common and *popular* ^c,” Clemens Alexandrinus goes still farther, and describes the very books in which this *sacred alphabet* was principally employed: And as the place, where he explains this matter, is very curious, and contributes to the farther illustration of the subject, I shall consider it more at large. It hath been shewn that Clemens, in the passage quoted above, understood

^b Γράμματα γράφουσιν καὶ λογίζονται ψήφοις, Ἕλληνες μὲν, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ φέροντες τὴν χεῖρα, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ, ἀπὸ τῶν δεξιῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀριστερά. — διφασίοις δὲ γράμμασι χρέωνται· καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν, ἱερά, τὰ δὲ, δημολικά καλεῖται. lib. ii. cap. 36.

^c Παιδεύουσιν δὲ τὰς υἱὰς οἱ μὲν ἱερεῖς γράμματα διττά, τὰ τε ἱερά καλόμενα, καὶ τὰ κοινότερα ἔχοντα τὴν μάθησιν. p. 51.

what he called the *sacerdotal*, ΙΕΡΑΤΙΚΗΜ to be an *alphabetic* character. Now the same writer speaking in another place^d of the forty-two books of Hermes, which contained all the civil and religious science of the Egyptians, informs us, that ten of these books were called *sacerdotal*, and were the particular study of the chief priest, — *πρὸς αὐτῆς τῆς ἱερᾶς τὰ ΙΕΡΑΤΙΚΑ καλούμενα ἡ βιβλία ἐκμανθάνει.* These ten, therefore, were written in a *sacred alphabetic character*; though, as we learn from him in the same place, all the various kinds of *sacred characters* were employed in the composition of these forty-two books; for some were written in hieroglyphics; as he tells us, where he speaks of the sacred scribe, whose business it was to study those called *hieroglyphical*, — *τῶτον τὰ τε ΙΕΡΟΓΛΥΦΙΚΑ καλούμενα.* And, what is very remarkable, we find the subject of these to be of a popular and civil nature, such as cosmography, geography, the simple elements of astronomy, the chorography of Egypt, the description of the Nile^e, &c. conformable to what has been laid down concerning the use and application of the most early hieroglyphics. Others again of these books were written in *symbols*, particularly those two which the chanter had in care:—*ὁ ὧδὸς ἐν τῇ τῶν τῆς μουσικῆς ἐπιφερόμενῃ ΣΥΜΒΟΛΩΝ. τῶτον φασὶ δύο βίβλους ἀνειληφέναι δεῖν ἐκ τῆς Ἑρμῆς.* Here then we have all the three species of sacred writing, the *hieroglyphic*, the *symbolic*, and the *hierogrammatic* or *sacerdotal*; the last of which, as we hold, was by letters of an *alphabet*.

^d *Strom. lib. vi. p. 633, 634.*

^e — *περὶ τε τῆς κοσμογραφίας, καὶ γεωγραφίας, τῆς τάξεως τῆς ἡλίου καὶ τῆς σελήνης, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐπλανωμένων χωρογραφίαν τε τῆς Αἰγύπτου, καὶ τῆς τῆς Νείλου διαγραφῆς.*

BUT AN ALPHABET for secrecy, and consequently different from the vulgar, was a thing in use amongst the priesthood of almost all nations. Philo Biblius, in Eusebius, speaking of Sanchoniatho's history, tells us, that the author composed it by the assistance of certain records which he found in the temples written in AMMONEAN LETTERS^f, not understood by the people: these ammonean letters Bochart explains to be such as the priests used in sacred matters^g. Diogenes Laertius informs us, from Thrasyllus, that Democritus wrote two books, the one of the *sacred letters of the Babylonians*, the other of the *sacred letters of the city Meroë*^h: and concerning these last, Heliodorus saith, that the Ethiopians had two sorts of letters, the one called *regal*, the other *vulgar*; and that the regal resem-

^f — ὁ δὲ συμβαλὼν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν αἰδύτων εὐρεθεῖσιν ἀποκρύφοις Ἀμμονέων γραμμασι συσκευμένοις, αὐτὸ δὲ ἔκ τῃν πᾶσι γνῶριμα. —
Præp. Evang. lib. cap. 9.

^g Ammoneorum, i. e. *Ammanim*—Abenezra in LEVIT. xxvi. 30. *Templa facta ad cultum Solis*. Quod verissimum; Sol enim Hebræis est *amma*, unde *amman* templum Solis, quem solum Cœli Dominum crediderunt prisca Phœnices. Sanchoniathon, τῆτον γὰρ (τὸν ἥλιον) θεὸν ἐνόμιζον μόνον ἑρᾶν κύριον. Itaque hic præcipue cultus. Tamen, crescente superstitione, crediderim nomen *Ammanim* etiam ad alia delubra pertinuisse. Itaque *literæ Ammoneorum* seu *Ammanim* sunt literæ templorum, literæ in sacris receptæ. Geogr. Sacr. par. ii. lib. ii. cap. 17.

^h Τὸ περὶ τῶν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἱερῶν γραμμάτων περὶ τῶν ἐν Μερὸν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων. In Vit. Democr. Segm. xlix. lib. 9. But Reinesius and Menage, not apprehending there was any sacred mysterious writing out of Egypt and its confines, will have the *Babylon* here mentioned to be Babylon in Egypt; but they should have reflected how unlikely it was, if Democritus had chosen to write of the *sacred letters of the Egyptians*, that he should denominate his discourse from a place not at all celebrated for their use, when there were so many other that these characters had rendered famous.

bled the *sacerdotal* characters of the Egyptians¹. Theodoret, speaking of the grecian temples in general, says that they had certain forms of letters for their own use, called *sacerdotal*^k; and Fourmont, and others, suppose that this general custom prevailed amongst the Hebrews also^l. Which opinion, a passage in Irenæus seems to support^m,

And now we shall know how to deal with a strange passageⁿ of Manetho in Eusebius. This historian assures his reader, “ that he took his information from pillars in the land of Seriad, inscribed by Thoyth the first Hermes, with *hieroglyphic letters* in the *sacred dialect*; and translated, after the flood, out of the sacred dialect, into the greek tongue, with *HIEROGLYPHIC letters*, and deposited in volumes by Agathodæmon, the second Hermes, father of Tat, in the Adyta of the Egyptian temples.” The original is in these words: Ἐκ τῶν Μανεθῶ τῆ Σεβεννύτζ, ὅς ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίῃς τῆ Φιλαδέλφει ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ εἰδώλων, χρηματίσας ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῇ Σηριαδικῇ γῇ κειμένων

¹ Ἐπελεγόμην τὴν ταινίαν γραμμασιν Αἰθιοπικοῖς, ἔ δημοτικοῖς, ἀλλὰ βασιλικοῖς ἐστὶ μένην, ἃ δὲ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίων ΙΕΡΑΤΙΚΟΙΣ ΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΙΣ ὁμοιωταί. lib. iv.

^k Ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς ναοῖς ἴδιοι τινὲς ἦσαν χαρακτῆρες γραμμάτων, ἃς ΙΕΡΑΤΙΚΟΥΣ προσηγόρευον. In Genes. Qu. 61.

^l Cette coutume de la plûpart des nations Orientales, d'avoir des Caracteres *Sacres*, & des Caracteres *Profanes* ou d'un usage plus vulgaire, étoit aussi chez les HEBREUX. *Reflex. Crit.* vol. i. p. 36.

^m Antiquæ et primæ Hebræorum literæ, quæ SACERDOTALES nuncupatæ, decem quidem fuere numero. *Adver. Hæc.* l. ii. c. 41.

ⁿ See Stillingfleet's *Orig. Sacr.* book i. chap. ii. §. 11. and Mr. Shuckford's *Connections*, vol. i. ed. 2. p. 247.

σηλῶν ἱερῶν, φησὶ, διαλέκῳ καὶ ἱερογραφικοῖς γραμμασι κε-
 χαρακτῆρισμένων ὑπὸ Θωῦθ τῷ πρῶτῳ Ἑρμῇ καὶ ἑρμηνευ-
 θεισῶν μετὰ τὸν κατὰ κλυσμὸν ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς διαλέκτου εἰς τὴν
 ἑλληνίδα φωνὴν γραμμασιν ἹΕΡΟΓΛΥΦΙΚΟΙΣ, καὶ ἀπολεθει-
 σῶν ἐν βίβλοις ὑπὸ τῷ Ἀγαθοδαίμονι τῷ δευτέρῳ Ἑρμῇ,
 πατρὸς δὲ τῷ Τατ ἐν τοῖς ἀδύτοις τῶν ἱερῶν Αἰγυπτίων.
 Stillingfleet objects, with reason, to the absurdity
 of translating into the greek tongue with hiero-
 glyphic characters: and the author of the *Con-*
nections well seeing that by γραμμασιν ἱερογλυφικοῖς
 must be understood an alphabetic character, says
 the words should not be translated *hieroglyphics*,
 but *sacred letters*^p: he might as well have said
gothic letters, ἱερογλυφικὰ being always used by the
 Ancients to denote characters for *things*, in oppo-
 sition to alphabetic letters, or characters composing
words. It is certain the text is corrupt; as may
 be seen, 1. From the word γραμμασιν (which in
 strict propriety signifies the *letters of an alphabet*)
 its being joined to ἱερογλυφικοῖς, which denotes a
 species of *marks* for things. 2. From the men-
 tion of a *sacred dialect*, ἱερὰ διάλεκτος (of which
 more hereafter;) for if these records were written
 in a *sacred dialect*, it is plain the character employed
 must be *alphabetic*; and so indeed it is expressed
 to be in the words ἱερογραφικοῖς γραμμασι, which
 immediately follow; and if, out of this dialect, it
 were translated into another, must not alphabetic
 characters be still employed? And now we see not
 only that the present reading is wrong, but are
 led, by this last observation, to the right; the
 passage being without all question to be read thus:
 — μετὰ τὸν κατὰ κλυσμὸν ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς διαλέκτου εἰς τὴν

^o Euseb. Chron. ed. Scal. Amst. 1658. p. 6.

^p *Connection of the Sacred and Profane History*, vol. i. p. 274,
 and vol. ii. p. 294.

ἑλληνίδα φωνὴν γράμμασιν ἹΕΡΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΟΙΣ καὶ ἀποθε-
σῶν ἐν βίβλοις, &c. — γράμμασιν ἹΕΡΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΟΙΣ,
in speaking of the translation, being the very words
just before employed in speaking of the original;
and with great propriety: for *ἱερογραφικά* was used
by the ancients as a generic term, to signify as well
sacred letters composing words, as *sacred marks*
standing for things; *ἱερογλυφικά* not so, but de-
noting only *marks for things*: so that the plain and
sensible meaning of the passage is, that a work,
written by the first Hermes, in the *sacred dialect*,
and *sacred letters*, was translated, by the second
Hermes, into the *greek dialect*; the original *sacred*
letters being still employed. And the reason is
evident; the greek translation was for the use of
the Egyptians: but such would be soonest invited
to the study of a foreign dialect when written in
their own letters: a common inducement for tran-
slators into a foreign language, to preserve the
original character. Besides, this version was not
for the Egyptians in general, but for the priests
only; and therefore their peculiar character was
preserved.

We now begin to see that the whole extrava-
gance in this account, which made it rejected by
the Critics with so much contempt, is only in the
high antiquity given to the fact; and this, the
very circumstance of the fact refutes: for it not
only tells us of *sacred alphabetic letters*, which we
have shewn to be of late use amongst the Egyptians,
but likewise of a *sacred dialect*, which certainly
was still later: And, if I be not much mistaken, a
passage in Herodotus will lead us to the time when
this translation was made. The historian tells us,
that when Psammiticus, by the assistance of the
Ionians and Carians, had subdued all Egypt, he
placed

placed these greek adventurers on both sides the Nile; where he assigned them lands and habitations, and sent among them Egyptian youths to be instructed in the greek language; from whence sprung the State-interpreters for that tongue⁹: Thus far the historian; from whose account of Psammitichus's project it appears, that his purpose was to establish a constant intercourse with the grecian nations. The youth picked out for interpreters were, without question, of the priesthood, all letters and learning residing in that order; which had likewise a great share in the public administration. And now the priesthood having the greek tongue amongst them, which its use in public affairs would make them diligently cultivate, Where was the wonder that, about this time, some of these interpreters, Ἑρμηνέες, should employ themselves in translating the *sacred* Egyptian records into the grecian language?

But then as to the precise time of the invention of EGYPTIAN LETTERS, it can never be so much as guessed at; because *hieroglyphics* continued to be in use long after that time; particularly on their public Monuments; where we find no appearance of alphabetic characters. However, that *letters* were very early, we have shewn above as

⁹ — Τοῖσι δὲ Ἰωσι καὶ τοῖσι Καρσί, τοῖσι συγκαλεσασαμένοισι αὐτῶ, ὁ Ψαμμίτιχ⁹ δίδωσι χώρας ἐνοικῆσαι ἀντίως ἀλλήλων, τῷ Νεῖλῳ τὸ μέσον ἔχοντι. — καὶ δὴ παῖδας παρέβαλε αὐτοῖσι Αἰγυπτίους, τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἐκδιδάσκεισθαι. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐκμαθόντων τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν, οἱ νῦν Ἑρμηνέες ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γεγονόασιν. *Euterp.* l. ii c. 154. Hence it appears that the learned Dr. Prideaux was mistaken when he said — *But the worst of it is, the ancient Egyptians did not speak Greek; the Ptolemy first brought that language amongst them.* — Connection, part ii. lib. i. p. 12.

well from other circumstances, as from this, the giving the invention of them to the Gods^r.

Those who are for deriving all civil improvements from the line of *Abraham*, of course, bestow upon it the invention of an ALPHABET. But as this fancy is only amongst the loose ends of an hypothesis, without any foundation in Scripture, these critics differ much about the time. Some suppose *letters* to have been in use amongst the Patriarchs; and, by them, transmitted to the Egyptians; but there are such strong objections to this opinion, (to mention no other than, the Patriarch's sending verbal messages where it was more natural as well as more expedient to send them written) that others have thought proper to bring down the time to that of MOSES^s: When GOD, they say, taught him the use of *alphabetic* letters, in the exemplar of the two tables written, as the text assures us, *with the Finger of GOD*. But how, from words, which at most, only imply that the ten commandments were miraculously engraved as well as dictated, it can be concluded that letters were then first invented, I have not logic enough to find out. A common reader would be apt to infer from it, that letters were now well known to the Israelites, as GOD had thought fit to deliver the first elements of their religion in that kind of writing; I say, he would be thus apt to infer,

^r See p. 63. of this volume.

^s I have the pleasure to find, that so sensible a writer as the celebrated Mr. *Astruc*, in his *Conjectures sur la Genese*, has espoused this opinion, that *alphabetic writing* was in use amongst the Egyptians before the time of Moses: He has likewise adopted the arguments here employed in support of it, as well as this whole theory of *hieroglyphic writing*.

though

though MOSES had never spoken of them on other occasions (which he hath done) as of things in familiar use: But if GOD was indeed the revealer of the artifice, how happened it that the history of so important a circumstance was not recorded? for as we shall see presently, the *Memory* of it would have been one of the strongest barriers to idolatry.

However, though I think it next to certain that MOSES brought letters, with the rest of his learn-

^t EXOD. xxviii. 21. *And the stones shall be with the names of the children of Israel, twelve, according to their names; LIKE THE ENGRAVINGS OF A SIGNET, every one with his name shall they be, according to the twelve tribes.* And again, ver. 36. *And thou shalt make a Plate of pure gold, and grave upon it, like the engravings of a signet, HOLINESS TO THE LORD.* Had letters been invented by MOSES, and unknown till then to the Israelites, would he not naturally have said, when he directed the workmen to engrave names and sentences on stones and gold, — *and in these engravings you shall employ the alphabetic characters which I have now invented and taught you the use of?* On the contrary he gives them a very different direction; he refers them to a model in familiar use, — *like the engravings of a signet.* For the ancient people of the East engraved names and sentences on their seals, just as the Mahometan princes do at present. — Mr. Fleuri with great ingenuity confesses the high perfection of the arts at this time amongst the Israelites. “*Ils sçavoient tailler & graver les pierres précieuses. Ils étoient Menuisiers, Tapissieurs, Brodeurs & Parfumeurs. Entre ces arts, il y en a deux que j’admire principalement: la taille des pierreries, & la fonte des figures, telles qu’étoient les Chérubins de l’Arche & le Veau d’or. Ceux qui ont tant soit peu connoissance des arts, sçavent combien il faut d’artifices & de machines pour ces ouvrages. Si des-lors on les avoit trouvées, on avoit déjà bien raffiné, même dans les arts qui ne servent qu’à l’ornement; & si l’on avoit quelque secret pour faire les mêmes choses plus facilement, c’étoit encore une plus grand perfection, ce qui soit dit en passant, pour montrer que cette antiquité si éloignée n’étoit pas grossière & ignorante, comme plusieurs s’imaginent.*” *Mœurs des Israelites, sect. 9.*

ing, from Egypt, yet I could be easily persuaded to believe that he both enlarged the alphabet, and altered the shapes of the letters^u. 1. The hebrew alphabet, which he employed in the composition of the pentateuch, is considerably fuller than that which Cadmus brought into Greece. Cadmus was of Thebes in Egypt; he sojourned in Syria, and went from thence into Greece: His country shews that his letters were Egyptian; and this, their difference in number from the hebrew, sufficiently confirms. Cadmus having only sixteen, and the Hebrews two and twenty. 2. That Moses likewise altered the shape of the Egyptian letters I think probable; all hieroglyphic writing was absolutely forbidden by the second commandment, and with a view worthy the divine wisdom; hieroglyphics being, as we shall see hereafter, the great source of their idolatries and superstitions. But now alphabetic letters, (which henceforth could be only used amongst the Hebrews) being taken by the Egyptians^{*} from their hieroglyphic figures, retained, as was natural, much of the shapes of those characters: to cut off therefore all occasion of danger from symbolic images, Moses, as I suppose,

^u A certain anonymous writer, quoted by Crinitus from an ancient MS, in his *de honesta disciplina*, is of this opinion. But I quote him chiefly for his pacific disposition to accommodate and compromise matters, by giving every nation its share in the glory of the invention; not, I mean, of the alphabetic *powers*, but of the various alphabetic *characters*.

- “ Moses primus Hebraicas exaravit literas ;
- “ Mente Phœnices sagaci condiderunt Atticas ;
- “ Quas Latini scriptitamus, edidit Nicostрата ;
- “ Abraham Syras, & idem repperit Chaldaicas ;
- “ Isis arte non minore, protulit Ægyptiacas ;
- “ Gulfila promisit Getarum, quas videmus, literas.

^{*} See p. 83, 84. of this volume.

altered the shapes of the Egyptian letters, and reduced them into something like those simple forms in which we now find them. Those who in much later ages, converted the northern pagans to the christian Faith observed the same caution. For the characters of the northern alphabet, called RUNIC, having been abused to magical superstition, were then changed to the *Roman*.——Tantas in his *Runis* (says Sheringham) latere virtutes Gothi ante fidem susceptam rati sunt, ut sive hostium caput diris sacrandum, sive pestis morbique amolendi, sive aliud opus suscipiendum se incantationibus *Runisque* muniebant—Post fidem vero susceptam *Runæ*, qui incantationibus præstigiisque magicis in tantum adhibitæ fuerint, adeo fastidiri cœperunt, ut multi libri, multaque antiqua monumenta exinde præpostero zelo dejecta atque deleta sunt: unde historia Getica magnum detrimentum clademque accepit. Tandem vero, teste Loccenio, Sigfridi episcopi Britannici opera (Papa etiam romano suam operam præstante) eò res devenit ut *Runæ* in Sueciâ A. DML. penitus abolerentur; & characteres Latini substituerentur^y.

This account will reconcile the differing systems of Marsham and Renaudot; one of whom contends^z, that the letters which Cadmus brought into Greece were Egyptian; the other, that they were Phenician^a; and both of them appeal to the authority of Herodotus; who says plainly, “that the alphabet brought by Cadmus into Greece was Egyptian; and yet, speaking of the three most ancient inscriptions in Greece, he says, *they were in Phenician characters*, which very much resembled the

^y *De Ang. gent. orig.* p. 292—3.

^a Sur l'origine des lettres Grecques.

^z Can. Chron.

ionic:" for if what has been here supposed be allowed, then the alphabet which Cadmus carried with him was doubtless of Moses's invention, as to the *form*, but Egyptian, as to the *power*. It may be just worth observing that Renaudot's discourse is full of paralogisms, which this solution detects.

3. To this let me add another consideration. The vowel-points (as seems now to be generally agreed on) were added since the Jews ceased to be a Nation. The hebrew language was originally, and so continued to be, for a long time written without them. Now if God first taught Moses an alphabet, can we believe that the vowels would have been thus generally omitted? But suppose Moses learnt his alphabet of the Egyptians, and only made it fuller, and altered the form of the letters, we may easily give a good account of the omission. The Egyptian alphabet, as we observed, was invented for precision, and used for secrecy. Both ends were answered by an alphabet with hardly any vowels.

Thus we see that the form of alphabetic characters was a matter of much importance to the Hebrews, as to the integrity of their religion. If therefore, God was the immediate author of them, it is difficult to suppose that Moses could omit to record the history of their invention, such a history being the best sanction to recommend their use; and the best security against a return to the idolatrous practice of hieroglyphic-writing; to which this people, so fond of Egyptian manners, were violently inclined.

But we have not yet done with Manetho; The last circumstance opening the way to another discovery

covery of great importance in the egyptian antiquities: for by this passage we find they had not only *sacred characters and letters*, but a *sacred DIALECT* or *language* also; for what he here calls *ἱερὰ διάλεκτος*, in another place (where he interprets a certain Word in this language) he calls *ἱερὰ γλῶσσα*^b. It might perhaps be imagined that this *sacred dialect* was only the more ancient egyptian language; which being now grown into disuse, was preserved amongst the priesthood: But if we consider the small and slow change to which the eastern languages were subject; especially that of a people who admitted so little of foreign manners, we can scarce believe this to have been the case. Besides, the *sacred dialect* was used for secrecy, (being known only to the priests) which could never be the condition of a national language, how obsolete soever we may suppose it to be grown. All this considered, I take the *sacred dialect* to have been a language of their own framing; and one of their latest expedients for keeping their science to themselves. We have shewn how, for the sake of exactness, as they grew more speculative, they invented an alphabet to express their conceptions by marks for *words*, instead of marks for *things*: But the simple mystery of a peculiar alphabet, employed in a common tongue, would be soon detected; they therefore, as now it appears, invented a peculiar language for the use of their alphabet; and thus, under a double cover, effectually secured their hidden science. The way of framing the *sacred dialect*, I suppose, to be this, They

^b Ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τὸ σύμπαν αὐτῶν ἔθνος ὙΚΣΩΣ, τὸτο δὲ ἐστὶ βασιλεῖς ποιμένες· τὸ γὰρ ὙΚ καθ' ἱΕΡΑΝ ΓΛΩΣΣΑΝ βασιλέα σημαίνει, τὸ δὲ ΣΩΣ ποιμήν ἐστι καὶ ποιμένες κατὰ τὴν ΚΟΙΝΗΝ ΔΙΑΛΕΚΤΟΝ, καὶ ἔτω συντιθέμενον γίνεται ὙΚΣΩΣ. *Apud Joseph. cont. Ap. lib. i. cap. 14.*

called things by the names of their hieroglyphical representatives: Thus YK in the egyptian tongue signifying a serpent; and a serpant, in their hieroglyphics, denoting a king^c, YK, as Manetho informs us above, signified a king in the *sacred dialect*: And in this manner, their hieroglyphics became a sufficient fund for a new language.

On the whole then it appears that the Egyptian priests had these three methods of secreting their recorded knowlege; by HIEROGLYPHIC SYMBOLS, by a SACERDOTAL ALPHABET, and by a SACRED DIALECT. In explaining their several natures, and distinguishing them from the *proper hieroglyphic*, I have endeavoured to disembroil a subject which seems to have perplexed even the Ancients themselves; who in their accounts of the egyptian literature, perpetually confound the several species of *sacred writing*, with one another. What greatly contributed to this confusion, I presume, was the sacerdotal practice of promiscuously using, in one and the same book or literary monument, the several various species of *sacred writing*; that is to say, the *proper hieroglyphic*, the *symbolic*, and the *hierogrammatic*; as was done in composing the Bembine table, and the mystic ritual described by Apuleius.

Thus we find how it happened that that which had its origin in *necessity*, came, in time, to be employed for *secrecy*, and was at length, improved into an *ornament*. But now, in the incessant revolutions of things, this imagery, which was at first invented for open communication, and was from thence converted into mystery, at length resumed

^c *Horapollo*, lib. i. cap. 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64.

its primitive use; and, in the flourishing ages of Greece and Rome, was employed in their monuments and medals as the shortest and plainest method of conveying men's conceits: and a SYMBOL, which, in Egypt, was pregnant with profound wisdom, was in those places, the vocabulary of the people.

To illustrate these several changes and revolutions, we shall once again take up our instance from LANGUAGE; (which still, in all its minuter alterations and improvements, ran parallel with WRITING) and shew, how the original expedient, to communicate our thoughts in converse, the rude effort of *necessity*, came in time, like the first hieroglyphics, to be turned into *mystery*, and afterwards improved into the arts of *eloquence* and *persuasion*.

I. It hath been already shewn, in the fable of Jotham, how the *Apologue* corresponded to the *proper Egyptian hieroglyphic*; and was invented only to present a sensible image to the unimproved conception of the hearer.

As the change of the object, which the fable introduced, made it exactly answer to the *tropical hieroglyphic*; so that sort of PROSOPOPOEIA, which the fable much employed, representing a multitude under the image of one, made it equally correspond with the *curiological hieroglyphic*.

II. But now; in after times, either when men began to affect mystery, or their subject to require secrecy, they gradually changed the *Apologue* or fable, by quaint and far-fetched allusions, into a PARABLE, on set purpose to throw obscurity over the
the

the information; just as the *tropical hieroglyphic* was turned into the *tropical symbol*. We find innumerable instances of this mode of speech in Scripture: Thus God by the prophet Ezekiel: — “Son of man, utter a PARABLE unto the rebellious house, and say unto them, Thus saith the LORD God, Set on a pot, set it on, and also pour water into it: gather the pieces thereof into it, even every good piece, the thigh and the shoulder, fill it with the choice bones. Take the choice of the flock, and burn also the bones under it, and make it boil well, and let them seeth the bones of it therein^d.”

And in this manner was the *Parable* employed both amongst the Orientalists and Greeks: and thus the Jews understood it, as appears by the complaint of the prophet: “Ah LORD! they say of me, Doth he not speak PARABLES^e?” and by this denunciation of our LORD himself; “Unto you it is given to know the *mysteries* of the kingdom of God; but to others in PARABLES; that seeing they might not see, and hearing they might not understand^f.” And thus that great master of grecian eloquence, Demetrius Phalereus, explains it: “The allegory is used (says he) as a covering and disguise to the discourse^g.”

III. We have observed, that the *Symbol* the more it receded from the proper Hieroglyphic, the more it became obscure; till it divided itself, at length, into two sorts, the *tropical* and the *enigmatical*: Just

^d EZEK. xxiv. 3, & seq.

^e EZEK. xx. 49.

^f LUKE viii. 10.

^g — ὥσπερ συγκαλύμματα τῶ λόγῳ, τῇ ἀλληγορίᾳ κέχρηται. De Eloc. sect. 100.

so again it was with the *Parable*, which (answering to the *tropical symbol*) grew more and more mysterious, till it became a RIDDLE; and this again exactly corresponded to the *enigmatical* Hieroglyphic.

This, in sacred Scripture is called a DARK SAYING τὰ ἑξοχὴν. For the nature of God's dispensation required enigmas; and the genius of those times made them natural. The prophet Ezekiel will furnish us with an example:—"And the word of the LORD (says he) came unto me, saying, Son of man, put forth a RIDDLE, and speak a *Parable* unto the house of Israel; and say, Thus saith the LORD GOD, A great eagle with great wings, long winged, full of feathers, which had divers colours, came unto Lebanon, and took the highest branch of the cedar; he cropt off the top of his young twigs, and carried it into a land of traffic^h, &c." In the interpretation of these *Riddles* consisted much of the old eastern Wisdom, according to the observation of the Wise-man: "A man of understanding (says he) shall attain unto wise counsels; to understand a Proverb and the interpretation; the words of the Wise and their DARK SAYINGSⁱ." It was the custom too, as we learn from Scripture^k (and it lasted long, as we learn from Josephus^l), for the Sages of those times to send or offer RIDDLES to each other, for a trial of sagacity, to the exposi-

^h Chap. xvii. ver. 2. & seq.

ⁱ PROV. i. 5, 6.

^k JUDGES xiv. 12, 13, 14.

^l — καὶ Σοφίσματα δὲ καὶ λόγους ΑΙΝΙΓΜΑΤΩΔΕΙΣ διεπέμψατο πρὸς τὸν Σολομῶνα ὁ τῶν Τυρίων βασιλεὺς, παρακαλῶν ὅπως αὐτῷ τέττας σαφηνίσῃ, καὶ τῆς ἀπορίας τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ζητημένων ἀπαλλάξῃ· τὸν δὲ, δεινὸν ὄντα καὶ συνέλον, εὐδὲν τέττων παρηλθεν, ἀλλὰ πάντα νικήσας τῶν λογισμῶν, καὶ μαθὼν αὐτῶν τὴν διάνοιαν ἐφώτισε. *Antiq. Jud. lib. viii. cap. 5.*

tion of which, rewards and penalties were annexed^m; so that the present of a *riddle* was sometimes only a stratagem for a booty: hence, the *understanding dark sentences* became proverbial amongst the Hebrews to signify the arts of fraud and deceit; as may be collected from the character given by Daniel of Antiochus Epiphanes: “ And in the latter time of
 “ their kingdom, when the transgressors are come
 “ to the full, a king of fierce countenance and UN-
 “ DERSTANDING DARK SENTENCES shall stand
 “ upⁿ.”

The mysterious cover to this kind of wisdom made it (as always such a cover will) the most high prized accomplishment: so when the Psalmist would raise and engage the attention of his audience, he begins his song in this manner: “ Hear, all ye
 “ people, give ear, all ye inhabitants of the world:
 “ both low and high, rich and poor together. My
 “ mouth shall speak of wisdom, and the medita-
 “ tion of my heart shall be of understanding. I
 “ WILL INCLINE MINE EAR TO A PARABLE; I
 “ WILL OPEN MY DARK SAYING UPON THE
 “ HARP^o.” For as a great Critic in sacred and profane learning rightly observes upon the place: *Psalmi hujus auctor, quo auditores attentos reddat, his promittit se de rebus maximis, & in quibus summa sapientia posita sit, dicturum; & in carmine hoc componendo artem quam potuit maximam adhibuit, ut materia dignum redderet^p.*

^m Διὸς — τὸν δὲ τυραννῆνα Ἱεροσολύμων Σολομῶνα πέμψαι, φησὶ, πρὸς τὸν Εἰραμον ΑΙΝΙΓΜΑΤΑ, καὶ παρ’ αὐτῷ λαβεῖν ἀξιῶνα· τὸν δὲ, μὴ δυνηθέντα διακρίνειν, τῷ λύσαντι χρεῖματι ἀποδίνειν. — *Id. ib.*

ⁿ Chap. viii. ver. 23. ^o PSAL. xlix. 4. ^p *Psalmorum Liber in Versiculos metricè divisus* &c. Ed. Hare, Episc. Cicesst. p. 265.

And

And as, in the improved art of WRITING by *Symbols*, the Egyptians, (as well to give it the air of learning and elegance, as to cloud it with a variegated obscurity) studied all the singular *properties of beings*, and their *relations*, in order to fit them for representatives of other things; so in the art of SPEAKING, men soon began to adorn those modes of information just now mentioned, with *tropes and figures*; till at length Posterity began to doubt about the original of *figurative expression*; even as they had doubted about the original of *hieroglyphic painting*: whereas in truth, the first, like the latter, owed its birth to mere want and rusticity; that is, a want of words, and rusticity of conception. To give an instance of the first want, in the PLEONASM; of the latter, in the METAPHOR: for eastern speech abounds with these *figures*; they constitute its pride and beauty; and to excel in them, consists the art of their orators and poets.

1. The *Pleonasm* evidently arose from the narrowness of a simple language: the hebrew, in which this figure abounds, is the scantiest of all the learned languages of the east: *Amant* (says Grotius) *Hebræi verborum copiam; itaque rem eandem multis verbis exprimunt*^a. He does not tell us the reason; but it is seen above, and appears to be the true: for when the speaker's phrase comes not up to his ideas (as in a scanty language it often will not) he naturally endeavours to explain himself by a repetition of the thought in other words; as he whose body is straiten'd in room is never relieved but by a continual change of posture. We may observe this to happen fre-

^a In HAB. ii. 1.

quently in common conversation; where the conception of the speaker is stronger than his expression. The most scanty language therefore will be always fullest of repetitions, which is the only *copia* in *that* which Grotius speaks of.

2. The *Metaphor* arose as evidently from rusticity of conception, as the *pleonasm* from the want of words. The first simple ages, uncultivated, and immersed in sense, could express their rude conceptions of abstract Ideas, and the reflex operations of the mind, only by material images; which, so applied, became *metaphors*. This, and not the warmth of a florid and improved fancy, as is commonly supposed, was the true original of figurative expression. We see it even at this day in the style of the American savages, tho' of the coldest and most phlegmatic complexions, such as the Iroquois of the northern continent; of whom a learned missionary says: "They affect a lively close expression, like the Lacedemonians; yet for all that their style is *figurative*, and wholly *metaphorical*." Their

* Les Iroquois, comme les Lacedemoniens, veulent un discours vif & concis; leur Style est cependant figuré, & tout *metaphorique*. *Mœurs des Sauvages Américains comparées aux Mœurs des premiers Temps*, par Lafitau, tom. i. p. 480. 4^{to}. And of the various languages of all the people on that great continent in general, he expresseth himself thus, La plupart de ces Peuples Occidentaux, quoiqu' avec des Langues tres différentes, ont cependant à peu pres la même genie, la même façon de penser, et les même tours pour s'exprimer, tom. ii. p. 481. *Condamine* gives pretty much the same account of the Savages of South America. Speaking of their languages he says, plusieurs sont energiques & susceptibles d'eloquence, &c. p. 54. which can mean no other than that their terms are highly figurative. But this is the universal genius of the language of Barbarians. *Egede*, in his *history of Greenland*, says, the Language is very rich of words and sense; and of such ENERGY, that

Their phlegm could only make their style concise, not take away the figures; and the conjunction of these different characters in it, shews plainly that *metaphors* were from necessity, not choice. The very same character, in other words, Diodorus gives of the style of the ancient Gauls: *In conversation*, says he, *they use the utmost brevity, attended with a highly figurative obscurity: their speech abounds with a licentious kind of Synecdoche, which leaves much to the hearer to unriddle and divine; and also with hyperboles*. —

that one is often at a loss, and puzzled to render it in Danish. p. 165. This energy is apparently what the French Missionary calls *tout metaphorique*. Quintilian, speaking of *metaphors*, says, *Qua quidem cum ita est ab ipsa nobis concessa natura, ut indocti quoque ac non sentientes ea frequenter utantur*, lib. viii. c. 6. which shews, by the way, that Quintilian did not apprehend their true cause or original.—By all this may be seen how much M. Bullet mistakes the matter, where, in his *Memoires sur la langue Celtique*, he says, “ *Dans les pays chauds une imagination ardente decouvre aisement la plus petite ressemblance qu’*
“ *une chose peut avoir avec une autre. Elle voit d’abord,*
“ *par exemple, la report qui se trouve entre un homme cruel &*
“ *une bête feroce; et pour faire connoître qu’ elle apperçoit*
“ *cette ressemblance elle donne a cet homme le nom de Tigre.*
“ *Voilà l’origine du langage figure & metaphorique. Dans les*
“ *Pays froides, ou l’imagination n’a pas une vivacité pareille on*
“ *se sert de terms propres pour exprimer chaque chose, ou appelle*
“ *tout par son nom.*” Vol. i. p. 6. But we find the fact to be just otherwise.

Κατὰ δὲ τὰς ὁμιλίας βραχυλόγοι, καὶ αἰνισμαῖαι, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ αἰνιττόμενοι συνεκδοχικῶς* πολλὰ δὲ λέγοντες ἐν ὑπερβολαῖς. — p. 213. This being the nature and genius common to all the barbarous nations upon earth, I am almost tempted to believe *Geofry of Monmouth*, when he says, that he translated his worthy history of Britain from the Welch; of which, his original, he gives this character, — *Phallerata verba & ampullosæ dictiones*. If this was not so, one can hardly tell why he should mention a circumstance that neither recommended his copy nor his original. But the character of the ballads of the old Welch Bards, fully supports Diodorus’s account of the style of the ancient Gauls.

But we need not these far-fetched examples. He who will only reflect on what is so common as generally to escape reflection, may observe, that the common people are always most given to speak in figures. Cicero observed this long ago, where encouraging the use of *metaphors*, even in the simpler style, he says, — *Translatione fortasse crebrior, qua frequentissime sermo omnis utitur non modo urbanorum, sed etiam rusticorum. Siquidem est eorum, gemmare vites, sitive agros, lætas esse segetes, luxuriosa frumenta. Nihil horum parum audacter, sed aut simile est illi, unde transferas: aut, si res suum nullum habet nomen, docendi causa sumptum, aut ludendi videtur*^t. Hence too, the peoples delight in that other figure of speech, PROVERBS, a passion not stronger in our own times than in those of Aristotle; who observes *οἱ ΑΓΡΟΙΚΟΙ μάλιστα ΓΝΩΜΟΤΥΠΟΙ εἰσὶ*. And the gross images under which proverbial truths in all languages are conveyed, shew they only delighted in their own inventions: for, to the People, it is certain, we are altogether indebted for this species of instruction.

It is true, when gross conception met with a warm imagination which delighted in painting strong and lively images, and was improved by exercise and use, figurative expression would be soon adorned with all the flourishes of wit. For WIT consists in using strong *metaphoric images* in uncommon yet apt allusions: just as ancient egyptian wisdom did in *hieroglyphic symbols* fancifully analogized. Plato perhaps had something of this in his thoughts (if he had not, he had hardly any thing so good)

^t Orator. cap. xxiv.

when he observed to Alcibiades, that the *People was an excellent master of language*^u.

Thus we see it has ever been the way of men, both in *Speech* and *Writing*, as well as in *Clothes* and *Habitations*, to turn their wants and necessities into parade and ornament^x.

IV. In the first parallel between *Speech* and *Writing*, we have compared *metaphors* to the *letters of an alphabet*; and how well the parallel runs may be further seen from hence; The Egyptians had, as has been shewn, two sorts of alphabetic letters, the one *popular*, the other *sacerdotal*; so had the Ancients in general two sorts of *metaphors*; one *open* and *intelligible*, another *hidden* and *mysterious*. The prophetic writings are full of this latter sort. To instance only in the famous prediction of Balaam: *There shall come a STAR out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel*^y. This prophecy may possibly in some sense relate to David; but, without question, it belongs princi-

^u But the important use to which the very learned the Abbé de Condillac has employed all that has been here said on this matter, may be seen in his excellent *Essay on the origin of human Knowledge*. Part II. which treats of *Language*.

^x Quintilian makes an objector to the *figurative style* argue thus, — Antiquissimum quemque maxime secundum naturam dixisse contendunt; mox Poetis similiores extitisse, etiam si parcius, simili tamen ratione, falsa & impropria virtutes ducentes. On which he observes—qua in disputatione non nihil veri est—It is true, there is *something of truth* in it, and indeed, not much; for tho' the polishers of human speech did, as the objector says, turn the improprieties of speech into ornament, it is utterly false that the most ancient speakers used only simple and proper terms.

^y NUMB. xxiv. 17.

pally to Jesus: the metaphor of a *sceptre* was common and popular, to denote a ruler, like David; but the *star*, tho' it also signified, in the prophetic writings^z, a temporal prince or ruler, yet had a secret and hidden meaning likewise: a *star* in the egyptian hieroglyphics denoted GOD^a: and how much *hieroglyphic writing* influenced the *eastern languages* we shall see presently. Thus GOD, in the prophet Amos, reproving the Israelites for their idolatry on their first coming out of Egypt, says: "Ye have born the tabernacle of your *Moloch*, and *Chiun* your images, THE STAR OF YOUR GOD, which ye made to yourselves^b." *The star of your GOD* is a sublime figure to signify *the image of your GOD*; for a *star* being employed in hieroglyphics to signify GOD, it is used here with great elegance, to signify the material image of a GOD: the words, *the star of your GOD*, being only a repetition, so usual in the Hebrew tongue, of the preceding, *Chiun your images*. Hence we conclude that the metaphor here used by Balaam of a *star* was of that abstruse mysterious kind; and is so to be understood; and consequently that it related only in the mysterious sense, to CHRIST, the eternal son of GOD.

We have observed how *Symbols*, which came from open *Hieroglyphics*, lost their mysterious nature, and recovered again their primitive use in the flourishing ages of Greece and Rome. Just so again it was with the *Parable*; which coming from

^z DAN. viii. 10.

^a Ἀστὴρ παρ' Αἰγυπτί οὗς ὑποφύμεν ΘΕΟΝ σημαίνει. Herapol. Hierog. lib. ii. cap. i.

^b Chap. v. ver. 25, 26.

the simple *Apologue*, often returned to its first clearness and became a proverb plain and intelligible to all. “In that day (says the prophet Micah) shall one take up a *Parable* against you^c, &c. “Shall not all these (says Habakkuk) take up a *Parable* against him, and a taunting *pro-verb* against him, and say^d, &c.”

Thus WRITING and LANGUAGE, throughout all their various modes, ran exactly the same fortune: invented out of necessity, to communicate men's thoughts to one another; they were continued out of choice, for mystery and ornament; and they ended at last as they began, in the way of popular information.

Hitherto we have considered the *relation* only as they stand in an independent parallel; but as they are only two different ways of communicating the same conceptions, they must needs have a mighty influence upon one another. To explain this in the manner it deserves, would require a just volume; and as a properer place may be found for it, when we come to consider the objections to the *style of Scripture*; it will be sufficient just to touch upon it at present.

1. The influence *Language* would have on the first kind of writing, which was *hieroglyphical*, is easy to conceive. Language, we have shewn, was, out of mere necessity, highly figurative, and full of material images: so that when men first thought of recording their conceptions, the writing would be, of course, that very picture which was before painted in the fancy, and from thence, de-

^c Chap. ii. ver. 4.

^d Chap. ii. ver. 6.

lineated in words: Even long after, when figurative speech was continued out of choice, and adorned with all the invention of wit, as amongst the Greeks and Romans, and that the genius of the simpler *hieroglyphic*-writing was again revived for ornament, in EMBLEMS and DEVICES, the poetic habit of personalizing every thing, filled their coins, their arches, their altars, &c. with all kinds of imaginary Beings. All the qualities of the mind, all the affections of the body, all the properties of countries, cities, rivers, mountains, became the seeds of living things: for,

——“ as IMAGINATION bodied forth

“ The forms of things unknown, the *artist's hand*

“ Turn'd them to shape, and gave to airy nothing

“ A local habitation and a name^e.”

2. The reciprocal influence *hieroglyphic writing* would have on *language* is as evident. The Chinese, we have seen, used this kind of writing, as well as the Egyptians; and the character given of their language is entirely correspondent: “ The style of the *Chinese*, in their compositions, (says Du Halde,) “ is MYSTERIOUS, *concise*, ALLEGORIC, and sometimes *obscure*. They *say much in few words*. Their expressions are lively, animated, and thick sown with *bold comparisons*, and *noble metaphors*^f.” Their style, we see, was *concise* and *figurative*; the very character, as

^e *Shakespear.*

^f Le Stile des Chinois dans leurs compositions est *mysterieux*, *concis*, *allegorique*, & quelquefois *obscur*. Ils disent beaucoup de choses en peu de paroles. Leurs expressions sont vives, animées & semées de comparaisons hardies & de metaphores nobles. *Descr. de l'Empire de la Chine*, tom. ii. p. 227. Paris, 1735.

we have seen, of all the barbarous nations upon earth, both ancient and modern; for Nature is ever uniform. The cold phlegmatic temper of the Chinese made their style short and *laconic*; the use of hieroglyphics made it *figurative*; and from this mixture it became *obscure*: but had those remote inhabitants of the East and West possessed the warm imagination of the proper Asiatics, then had their language, like that of the people spoken of above, abounded with *pleonasm*s instead of *laconisms*. The old Asiatic style, so highly figurative, seems likewise, by what we find of its remains, in the prophetic language of the sacred writers, to have been evidently fashioned to the mode of ancient Hieroglyphics, both *curiologic* and *tropical*. Of the first kind are the figurative expressions of *spotted garments* to denote iniquity; an *intoxicating draught*, to signify error and misery; the *sword and bow*, a warrior; a *gigantic stature*, a mighty leader; *balance, weights and measures*, a judge or magistrate; *arms*, a powerful nation, like the Roman. Of the second kind, which answers to the *tropical* hieroglyphic, is the calling empires, kings and nobles, by the names of the *heavenly luminaries*, the *sun, moon, and stars*; their temporary disasters or entire overthrow, denoted by *eclipses and extinctions*; the destruction of the Nobility, by *stars falling from the firmament*; hostile invasions, by *thunder and tempestuous winds*; and leaders of armies, conquerors, and founders of empire, by *lions, bears, leopards, goats, or high trees*. In a word, the prophetic style seems to be a SPEAKING HIEROGLYPHIC.

These observations will not only assist us in the intelligence of the Old and New Testament, but likewise vindicate their character from the illiterate cavils of modern libertines, who have fool-

ishly mistaken that colouring for the peculiar workmanship of the speaker's heated imagination, which was the sober established language of their times; a language which God and his Son condescended to employ, as the properest vehicle of the high mysterious ways of Providence, in the revelation of themselves to mankind.

But to come to a conclusion. We must observe in the last place, that besides the many changes which the ancient Egyptian *hieroglyphics* underwent, they at length suffered a very perverse corruption. It hath been already seen, how the MYSTERIES, that other grand vehicle of *egyptian wisdom*, degenerated into *magic*: just so it happened with the HIEROGLYPHICS; for their characters being become, in a proper sense, sacred (as will be explain'd hereafter) it disposed the more superstitious to engrave them upon Gems, and wear them as amulets or charms. But this abuse seems not to have been much earlier than the established worship of the God Serapis: which happened under the Ptolemys; and was first brought to the general knowledge of the world by certain christian heretics^s, and natives of Egypt, who had mingled a number of pagan superstitions with their christianity. These gems, called ABRAXAS, frequently to be met with in the cabinets of the curious, are engraven with all kinds of hieroglyphic characters. For this abusive original, we have the testimony of Rufinus the ecclesiastical historian, contemporary with St. Jerome: *Who can reckon up, says he, the horrid superstitions practised at Canopus? where under pre-*

^s So I thought: and so it has been generally thought. But M. de Beausobre in his *Histoire de Manichee*, lib. iv. c. 4. has made it probable, that the heretics had no hand in these *Abraxas*, but that they are altogether pagan.

tence of interpreting the SACERDOTAL LETTERS, for so they call the ancient egyptian characters, a public school may be almost said to be opened for the teaching magical arts^h. Hence these characters came to be called *chaldaic*, the Chaldeans being particularly addicted to magic. So Cassiodorus, speaking of the obelisks in the roman circus, which were brought from Egypt, calls the inscriptions on them *chaldaica signa*ⁱ: To the *Abraxas* afterwards succeeded TALISMANS^k: which (mixed, like the other, with the dotages of judicial astrology) are held in high reverence to this day, in all mahometan countries. And here let me observe, that from the low date of these kinds of charms may be seen the impertinence of what Sir John Marsham brings from late greek and roman writers, to confront and discredit the mysterious elevation of the brazen serpent in the wilderness^l.

^h — *Canopi quis enumeret superstitiosa flagitia? Ubi prætectu SACERDOTALIUM LITERARUM, ita enim appellant antiquas Ægyptiorum literas, Magicæ artis erat pene publica schola. Eccles. hist. lib. ii. cap. xxvi.*

ⁱ *Ubi sacra priscorum Chaldaicis signis, quos literis, indicantur. lib. iii. ep. 51. & lib. iii. ep. 2.*

^k This charm, which the Arabs called *Talisman* or *Tsalimam*, the later Greeks, when they had borrowed the superstition, called ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ; which shews of what house they supposed it to have come; *στοιχεῖα* being, as we have observed, the technical greek name for *hieroglyphic* characters.

^l The same error has made the half-paganized Marfilius Ficinus fall into the idle conceit, that the *Golden Calf* was only a *Talisman*: — Hebræi quoque (says he) in Ægypto nutriti, fruere vitulum aureum didicerant, ut eorundem astrologi putant, ad aucupandum veneris lunæque favorem, contra Scorpionis atque Martis influxum Judæis infestum. *De Vita Cælit. Com. l. iii. c. 13.*

But what must we think of KIRCHER, who hath mistaken these superstitions for the ancient Egyptian wisdom; and setting up with this magic, and that other of the *mysteries*, which the later Platonists and Pythagoreans had jumbled together, in the production of their fanatic-philosophy, soon ingrossed, in imagination, all the treasures of Antiquity^m? However, to be just, it must be owned that he was misled by the Ancients themselves. Some of whom imagined that the very first *hieroglyphics* were tainted with this magical pollution, just as some Moderns would have the first *Mysteries* to be corrupted by debauched practices. So Lucan, speaking of the times before alphabetic writing, says,

“ Nondum flumineas Memphis contexere Biblos
 “ Noverat, et saxis tantum, volucresque feræque
 “ Sculptaque fervabant MAGICAS animalia
 “ LINGUAS.”

^m The following are three of his six *Postulata* on which he founds his whole interpretation of the Egyptian *hieroglyphics*:—

1. *Hieroglyphica Ægyptiorum doctrina nihil aliud est quam arcana de Deo, divinisque Ideis, Angelis, Dæmonibus, cæterisque mundanarum potestatum classibus ordinibusque scientia, saxis potissimum insculpta.*

5. *Hieroglyphica Symbola non tantum sublimium erant significativa sacramentorum; sed & naturalem quandam efficacientiam habere credebantur, tum ad Genios bonos quibuscum occultam, & in abdita naturæ abyssu latentem sympathiam habere putabantur, attrahendos; tum ad contrarios & antitechnos Genios, ob eorundem cum iis antipathiam, coercendos profligandosque.*

6. *Hieroglyphica Symbola nihil aliud quàm prophylætica quædam signa, omnium malorum averruncativa, ob mirificum catenarum mundialium consensum connexionemque, esse existimabantur.*

Oedip. Ægypt. tom. iii. p. 4.

Here,

Here, we see, the *abuse* and the *invention* are made coeval. An extravagant error, which the least attention to the history of the human mind and the progress of its operations might have prevented.

To conclude, I have here presumed to dispute an unquestioned proposition, *That the Egyptians invented hieroglyphics for the sake of secrecy.* It will be well if the evidence of the reasoning may excuse the singularity of the paradox. This is certain, the subject hath long remained in obscurity; and as certain, that I have, some how or other, been able to throw a little scattered light into the darkest corners of it. Whether the common opinion occasioned the obscurity, and the notion here advanced has contributed to remove it, is left for the candid reader to determineⁿ.

III. And

ⁿ This Discourse on the EGYPTIAN HIEROGLYPHICS hath had the same fortune abroad, that the Discourse on the BOOK OF JOB hath had at home: Like this, it hath been the occasion of much waste of paper, and violation of common sense. For the Discourse on the Hieroglyphics having been well translated and well received in France, both the *subject* and the *author* became known enough to invite all *gentlemen scholars*, better able to entertain the Public, to oblige us with their ingenious conjectures; and many a French pen, even to that of a captain of grenadiers, hath been drawn, to shew that the nature of Hieroglyphics is yet as unknown as ever. A nameless dissertator, *sur l'Écriture Hieroglyphique*, (who chuses to write, as he himself very truly says, in his title page,—*sub luce maligna*) assures us, that Hieroglyphics were not a species of writing to convey intelligence to the reader, but a mere ornament upon stone, to entertain the eye of the spectator: So there is an end of the SUBJECT. The learned captain, who wheels in a larger circle, and takes in all the wisdom of Egypt, laments with much humanity, the superficiality and ignorance of all who have gone before him, and their utter incapacity of getting to the source of things: So there is an end of the AUTHOR. Indeed, the Journalist who recommends this important work to the public, seems to have his doubts as to this point.—N' est ce pas s' avancer un peu trop (says

III.

And now to apply this matter to the proof of our Proposition; for this long discourse on *Hieroglyphic writing* is particularly given to deduce from its nature, origin, and use, an internal argument for the high antiquity of *Egyptian learning*.

Let us see then how the evidence stands: The true Egyptian learning, which the early Greek Sages brought from thence to adorn their own country, was, by the concurrent testimony of these

(says he) et peut-on dire que MARSHAM pour la Chronologie & l'Histoire, M. WARBURTON pour les Hieroglyphes, & d'autres sçavans ayent negligé de consulter les sources?

To say the truth, these wonderful investigators of the learning of ancient Egypt, by the mere dint of modern ingenuity, had *provocation* enough to fall upon this unluckly Discourse, which no sooner appeared amongst them in the fine translation of a very learned french lawyer, than the celebrated writers of the *Journal des Sçavans*, of March, 1744. and of *Trevoux* of July, in the same year, announced it to the public in these terms. “ Il regne (says the first) une si belle analogie dans le systéme de Mr. Warburton, et toutes ses parties tiennent les unes aux autres par un lien si naturel, qu'on est porté à croire que l'origine, & les progrès de l'écriture & du langage ont été tels qu' il les a décrits. Le public doit avoir bien de l'obligation au Traducteur de lui avoir fait connoître un Ouvrage si curieux.” — “ M. Warburton (says the other) n'a pu sans une erudition profonde, une lecture murement digérée et des reflexions infinies traiter avec tant de précision, de justesse et de netteté, un sujet de lui même si difficile à mettre en oeuvre. Les plus sçavans hommes se sont laissé séduire sur l'origine des Hieroglyphes; et la plupart ont regardé un effet du peu d' experience des Egyptiens comme un refinement de la plus mystérieuse sagesse. C'est cette erreur que M. Warburton s'applique particulièrement à détruire dans la première partie. Il le fait de la manière la plus naturelle. Ce n'est point un systéme fondé SUR DES IMAGINATIONS VAGUES. Ses raisonnemens, les preuves sont appuyées sur des FAITS, sur la NATURE des choses, & sur LES PRINCIPES LES PLUS LUMINEUX DU SENS COMMUN.

writers,

writers, all contained in *Hieroglyphics*. They record a simple fact; and, in a fact of this nature, they could not be deceived; tho' in the causes of it they well might; and as we have shewn, indeed were. — But hieroglyphic-writing thus invented, was improved into a contrivance to record their secret wisdom, long before an *Alphabet* was found out; and yet an alphabet was of so high and almost immemorial antiquity as to pass for an invention of the Gods; and consequently to deceive some men into an opinion that *Letters* were prior in time to *Hieroglyphics*. °.

To this it may be objected, “That, as I pretend *Hieroglyphics* were not invented for secrecy, but afterwards turned to that use, and even employed in it, long after the invention of alphabetic letters, it might very well be, that this profound learning, which all agree to have been recorded in *Hieroglyphics*, was the product of ages much below the antiquity enquired after.”

Now, not to insist upon the Grecian testimony, which make the *learned hieroglyphics* coeval with the first race of kings; I reply, and might well rest the matter on this single argument,—That if

° Amongst the rest, the author of *Sacred and Profane History connected*; who says: “We have no reason to think that these “hieroglyphics [namely, what we call the *curiologic*,] were so “ancient as the first letters:” This is his first answer to the opinion that hieroglyphics were more ancient. His second is in these words: “They would have been a very imperfect character; many, nay most occurrences, would be represented “by them but by halves,” vol. ii. p. 295. Now this to me appears a very good argument why *hieroglyphics* were indeed the *first* rude effort towards recording the human conceptions; and still, a better, why they could not be the *second*, when men had already found out the more compleat method of alphabetic letters.

at the invention of *letters*, much high-prized learning had not been contained in *Hieroglyphics*, but only plain memorials of civil matters, no plausible reason can be given why the Egyptians did not then discontinue a way of writing so troublesome and imperfect. It hath been shewn, that in the very early ages of the world, all nations, as well as the Egyptian, used to record the succession of time and revolutions of State, in *hieroglyphic* characters: but, of these, none, besides the Egyptians, continued to write by marks for things, after the invention of *letters*. All others immediately dropt their hieroglyphics on the discovery of that more commodious method. The reason of which is plain; all others were totally unlearned in those periods of their existence preceding the knowledge of letters; consequently, as their hieroglyphics were employed in nothing but to record the rude annals of their history, they had no inducement to continue them: but at this remarkable æra, Egypt was very learned; and hieroglyphics being the repositories of its learning, these monuments would be in high veneration; and that veneration would perpetuate their use. There is but one example perhaps in the world, besides the Egyptian, where a people's *learning* was *first* recorded in *hieroglyphic* characters; and this one example will support our argument: the people I mean are the CHINESE; who, as the Missionaries assure us, bear such esteem and reverence for their *ancient character*, that, when they find it curiously written, they prefer it to the most elegant painting, and purchase the least scrap at an excessive price: they will not (we are told) apply the paper even of any common book, on which these characters are written, to a profane or vulgar use: and their joiners and masons do not dare to tear a printed leaf which they find
pasted

pasted to the wall or wainscot^p. Now if at length, these people should be prevailed on to use the more excellent way of writing with the letters of an alphabet, can any one doubt but that their Mandarins would still continue these venerable hieroglyphic characters in their works of Science and Religion? Thus, what we see would be the case here, was without all question the case of the Egyptians; Characters become the vehicle of such treasures of learning must be in the highest reverence: and indeed, the name of *Hieroglyphics*, under which they were delivered to the Greeks, shews they were in fact thus revered^q. But that
learning

^p Ils preferent même un beau caractère à la plus admirable peinture, & l'on en voit souvent qui achètent bien cher une page de vieux caractères, quand ils sont bien formez. Ils honorent leurs caractères jusques dans les livres les plus ordinaires, & si par hasard quelques feuilles étoient tombées, ils les ramassent avec respect: ce seroit, selon eux, un grossierité & une impolitesse, d'en faire un usage profane, de les fouler aux pieds en marchant, de les jeter même avec indifférence; souvent il arrive que les menuisiers & les maçons n'osent pas déchirer une feuille imprimée, qui se trouve collée sur le mur, ou sur le bois. Ils craignent de faire une faute. *Du Halde Descr. de l' Empire de la Chine*, tom. ii. p. 228.

^q See p. 78, 79, of this volume. What hath been said above of the reason why *Egypt* alone continued their *hieroglyphic* characters after the invention of *letters*, and why all other nations thenceforward left them off, will give an easy solution to what a curious traveller seems to think matter of some wonder, namely, that “the symbolic learning was the only part of “Egyptian wisdom not translated into Greece.” [Dr. *Shaw's Travels*, p. 391.]—But if this learned man meant not *hieroglyphic* characters, but only the *mode* of Egyptian wisdom employed therein, he raises a wonder out of his own mistake: that mode was *translated into Greece* with the rest; for the precepts of Pythagoras were a fantastic kind of *translation* of hieroglyphic pictures into verbal propositions; and on that account, doubtless, called *SYMBOLS*: — Μάλισα (says Plutarch) δὲ ἔστι [ὁ Πυθαγόρας] ὡς εἶπκε, θαυμασθεὶς καὶ θαυμάσας τὰς ἀνδρας, ἀπεμιμήσατο τὸ

learning which was contained in hieroglyphics, and was, of itself, sufficient to perpetuate their use, gave birth to a tradition which would effectually secure it; and this was, that *the Gods themselves invented hieroglyphic writing.*

On the whole, The argument drawn from their CONTINUED USE seems so sure a proof of the high antiquity of Egyptian learning in general, that one might safely rest the whole upon it: But to remove all cavil, I shall proceed to other, and, as I think, incontestable proofs of the antiquity of that *learning*, and particularly the *theologic*: the one taken from the true original of the art of ONIRO-CRITIC, or *interpretation of dreams*; and the other from the true original of ANIMAL WORSHIP: both of these fantastic superstitions being the genuine and peculiar growth of EGYPT.

I. The art of ONIROCRITIC, from whose *original* I deduce my first proof, made a very considerable part of ancient pagan religion. Artemidorus, who lived about the beginning of the second century, and wrote a treatise on *Dreams*, collected from much earlier writers, divides *dreams* into two kinds, the *speculative* and the *allegorical*^r; the first kind is that which presents a plain and direct pic-

τὸ συμβολικὸν αὐτῶν καὶ μυστηριώδες, ἀναμίξας αἰνίγμασι τὰ δόγματα· τῶν γὰρ καλεσμένων γραμμάτων ἱερογλυφικῶν ἔθεν ἀπολείπει πᾶ πολλὰ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν παραγγελμάτων, οἷόν ἐστι τὸ Μὴ ἐσθίειν ἐπὶ δίφρῳ μηδ' ἐπὶ χοίνικῳ καθῆσθαι, μηδὲ φοίτικα φυτεύειν, μηδὲ πῦρ μαχαίρῃ σκαλεύειν ἐν οἰκίᾳ. *De Is. & Os. p. 632.* Ἀντίκα τῆς βαρβαρῆς (says Clemens Alex.) φιλοσοφίας, πάντῃ σφόδρα ἐπικεκρυμμένης ἤρτηται τὰ Πυθαγόρεια ΣΥΜΒΟΛΑ. παραινέει γὰρ ὁ Σάμιος χελιδόνα ἐν οἰκίᾳ μὴ ἔχειν, τέλει, λάλον καὶ ψίθυρον καὶ πρὸ γλῶσσαν ἄνθρωπον, &c. *Strom. lib. v. p. 558.*

^r Ἐτι τῶν ὀνείρων, οἱ μὲν, εἰσὶ θεωρηματικοί· οἱ δὲ ἀλληγορικοί. καὶ θεωρηματικοί μὲν, οἱ τῇ ἐαυτῶν δέᾳ προσεικότες — Ἀλληγορικοί δὲ, οἱ δι' ἄλλων ἄλλα σημαίνοντες. — *Artemid. Oneir. lib. i. cap. 2.*

ture

ture of the matter about which the Dream gives information; the second is an oblique intimation of it, by a tropical or symbolic image: This latter which makes up the large farrago of dreams, is the only kind that needs an Interpreter; on which account Macrobius defines a *Dream* to be the notice of something *hid in allegory which wants to be explained*^s.

So that the question will be, on what grounds or rules of interpretation the Onirocritics proceeded, when, if a man dreamt of a dragon, the Interpreter assured him it signified *majesty*; if of a serpent, a *disease*; a viper, *money*; frogs, *impostors*; pigeons and stock-doves, *women*; partridges, *impious persons*; a swallow, *sorrow, death, and disaster*; cats, *adultery*; the ichneumon, *deceitful and mischievous men*, &c^t. for the whole art of ancient *onirocritic* was concerned in these remote and mysterious relations. Now the early *Interpreters of dreams* were not juggling impostors; but like the early judicial *Astrologers*, more superstitious than their neighbours; and so the first who fell into their own delusions. However, suppose them to have been as arrant cheats as any of their successors, yet at their first setting up, they must have had materials proper for their trade; which could never be the wild workings of each man's private fancy. Their Customers would look to find a known analogy, become venerable by long application to mysterious wisdom, for the ground work of their deciphering; and the Decipherers them-

^s Somnium proprie vocatur, quod tegit figuris & velut ambagibus, non nisi interpretatione intelligendam, significationem rei quæ demonstratur. — *In Somn. Scip. lib. i. cap. 3.*

^t Vid. Artemid.

selves would as naturally fly to some confessed authority, to support their pretended Science. But what ground or authority could this be, if not the mysterious learning of *symbolic characters*? Here we seem to have got a solution of the difficulty. The *Egyptian priests*, the first interpreters of dreams, took their rules for this species of DIVINATION, from their *symbolic* riddling, in which they were so deeply read: A ground of interpretation which would give the strongest credit to the Art; and equally satisfy the Diviner and the Consulter: for by this time it was generally believed that their Gods had given them *hieroglyphic writing*. So that nothing was more natural than to imagine that these Gods, who in their opinion gave *dreams* likewise, had employed the same mode of expression in both revelations. This, I suppose, was the true original^u of *onirocritic*, or the interpretation

^u The reader may now see how inconsiderately the learned W. Baxter pronounced upon the matter when he said, “The *ἱεραὶ γράμματα* of the *Egyptians* were *notæ sacræ* borrowed from the Onirocritics, and therefore divine.” [App. to his *Gloss. Antiq. Rom.* pag. 414.] Nor does the more judicious Mr. Daubuz conclude less erroneously, when he supposes that both *onirocritic* and *hieroglyphics* stood upon one common foundation. But he was misled by Kircher, and certain late Greek writers, who pretended that the *ancient Egyptians* had I can’t tell what notion of a close union between visible bodies in heaven, the invisible deities, and this inferior world, by such a concatenation from the highest to the lowest, that the affections of the higher link reached the lower throughout the whole chain; for that the intellectual world is so exact a copy and idea of the visible, that nothing is done in the visible, but what is decreed before and exemplified in the intellectual. [Prelim. discourse to his *Comm. on the REVELATIONS*] This was the senseless jargon of Jamblichus, Porphyry, Proclus, and the rest of that fanatic tribe of Pythagorean-Platonists; and this they obtruded on the world for old Egyptian wisdom; the vanity of which pretence has been confuted in the first volume. It is hard to say whether these Enthusiasts
believed

tation of those dreams called allegorical; that is, of dreams in general; for the wildness of an unbridled fancy will make almost all natural dreams to be of that kind. It is true, the Art being now well established, every age adorned it with additional superstitions; so that at length the old foundation became quite lost in these new incrustations.

If this account of its original stood in need of farther evidence, I might urge the rules of interpretation here given from Artemidorus, and a great many more which might have been given; all of them conformable to the *symbolic hieroglyphics* in Horapollo.

Herodotus, in Clio, tells us, how Cyrus, dreaming that young Darius had WINGS on his shoulders, which, when spread out, shaded Asia and Europe, understood this dream by the assistance of his Interpreters, to signify (as we must needs conclude) a conspiracy formed against him by that young man. Now Sanchoniatho tells us^x that in the most ancient *hieroglyphic writing*, a supreme governor was designed by a man with four WINGS, and his lieutenants or princes under him by a man with two: and that their being *out-stretched* signified action or design^y.

But

believed themselves, there is such an equal mixture of folly and knavery in all their writings: however, it is certain, Kircher believed them.

^x See p. 79.

^y But hieroglyphic writing as we have observed, not only furnished rules of interpretation for their Onirocritics, but figures of speech for their Orators. So Isaiah expresseth the king of Assyria's invasion of Judea by the *stretching out of his WINGS*, to

But there is one remarkable circumstance which puts the matter out of all doubt. The technical term used by the Onirocritics for the phantasms seen in dreams, was ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ^z, *elements*. It would be hard to give a good account of the use of so odd a term on any other supposition than the derivation of onirocritic from symbolic writing. On that supposition it is easy and evident; for symbolic marks^a were called ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ. Now when they used symbols to decipher dreams, nothing was more natural than to give the same significative images, on the stone and in the fancy, the same appellation.

The reason why the Egyptian priests (who, we have seen, used the greek tongue very early) call-

*fill the breadth of the land**: And afterwards, prophesying against Egypt and Ethiopia, he says, *Wo to the land shadowing with wings*†. Most of the interpreters, indeed, explain wings to signify the sails of their vessels on the Nile: but the expression evidently means in general, the over-shadowing with a mighty power; of which *wings* in hieroglyphic language were the emblem.

^z Thus Suidas on the word — ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ· αἱ εἰκόνες καὶ διαπλάσεις τῶν ὀνείρων αἱ δὲ ὀλίγαι ἢ πολλαὶ χρόνους τὴν ἐκδοσὶν ἔχουσαι. Artemidorus tells us this was the *technical word* for the phantasms in dreams: Ὀνειρός ἐστὶ, κίνησις ἢ πλάσις ψυχῆς πολυσχήμεν· σημαντικὴ τῶν ἐσομένων ἀγαθῶν ἢ κακῶν· τέττα δὲ ἔτις ἔχοντες, ὅσα μὲν ἀποδοῖσεται μέλας χρόνος διελθόντες, ἢ πολλὰ, ἢ ὀλίγα, ταῦτα πάντα δι' εἰκόνων ἰδίων φυσικῶν τῶν καὶ ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΝ καλεσμένων, προαγορεύει ἢ ψυχὴ τὸν μέλας χρόνον νομίζουσα ἡμᾶς δύνασθαι λογισμῷ διδασκομένης τὰ ἐσόμενα μαθεῖν. *Oneir. lib. i. cap. 2.* And in his fourth book he begins a chapter which he entitles Περὶ ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΝ in this manner: Περὶ δὲ τῶν ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΝ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιφθόνους εἰρησθαι δοκῶντας, ἔτις ὁ λόγος ἀρμόσει, ὅπως ἔχης ἀποκρίνασθαι καὶ αὐτός, καὶ μὴ ἐξαπατηθῆς ὑπὸ τῶν πλείονα λεγόντων εἶναι. *cap. 3.*

^a See p. 78:

* C. viii. v. 8.

† C. xviii. 1.

ed their hieroglyphic and symbolic marks Στοιχεῖα, was because, in this way of writing, they employed all kinds of natural entities, to denote their mental conceptions; the proper signification of Στοιχεῖα being the first elements and principles of things, out of which all beings arise, and, of which, they are compounded^b. Hence it came that *alphabetic* letters which were an improvement on *hieroglyphics* and received their first shapes from hieroglyphic images, were called Στοιχεῖα.

So much for the *original* of onirocritic. To bring it to the point, we are next to consider its *antiquity*. Now Scripture leads us to the practice of this art as high up as the age of Joseph.

Pharaoh had two dreams^c; one of *seven kine*, the other of *seven ears of corn*. We see both these phantasms [Στοιχεῖα] were *symbols* of Egypt: The *ears* denoting its distinguished fertility; the *kine*, its great tutelary patroness, Isis. Pharaoh knew thus much without an Interpreter; and hence arose

^b But the learned Daubuz, in consequence of his trusting to the fanatic notion of the late Greek philosophers, supposes that hieroglyphic marks were called Στοιχεῖα, because the first composers of them *used the heavenly bodies to represent the notions of their minds, there being, according to them, a mystic sympathetic union and analogy between heavenly and earthly things*; consequently that Στοιχεῖα, in this use, signifies the *host of heaven*: That it may do so, according to the genius of the Greek tongue, he endeavours to prove by its coming from σείχω, which is a military term, and signifies to *march in order*. [p. 10. of the *Prel. Disc.*] But this learned man should on this occasion have remembered his own quotation from the excellent Quintilian, p. 54. *that analogy is not founded upon reason, but example. Non ratione nititur analogia, sed exemplo; nec lex est loquendi, sed observatio; ut ipsam analogiam nulla res alia fecerit, quam consuetudo.* Inst. lib. i. cap. 10.

^c GEN. xli.

his solicitude and anxiety to understand the rest, as a matter that concerned the Public: Accordingly, when Joseph^d comes to decipher these dreams, he does not tell the king that the two *sevens* denoted *seven years in Egypt*, but simply *seven years*: The scene of the famine needed no deciphering. Unlike, in this, to the interpretation of Daniel, when Nebuchadnezzar saw in a dream *a fair and high tree*; which being the symbol of majesty in general, the prophet explains its particular meaning, “The tree that thou sawest—it is THOU, O king^e.”

The argument therefore stands thus: the *Onirotics* borrowed their art of deciphering from symbolic hieroglyphics.—But this could not be 'till hieroglyphics were become sacred, by being made the cloudy vehicle of their Theology; because, 'till then, hieroglyphics had neither authority enough

^d Here perhaps I shall be told, with the candour I have commonly experienced, that I have applied the history of Pharaoh's *dream* in illustrating the old pagan method of onirotic for no other purpose than to discredit Joseph's prophetic interpretation of it: Therefore, though this matter be explained afterwards at large, I must here inform the reader, of what every one will be content to know, except such as these, who never think, but to suspect, and never suspect, but to accuse, that when God pleases to deal with men by his ministers, he generally condescends to treat them according to their infirmities; a method which hath all the Marks of highest wisdom as well as goodness. Phantasms in dreams were superstitiously thought to be *symbolical*: God, therefore, when it was his good pleasure to send dreams to Pharaoh, made the foundation of them too well known symbols; and this, doubtless, in order to engage the dreamer's more serious attention: But then to confound the *Egyptian Onirotics*, these dreams were so circumstanced with matters foreign to the principles of their art, that there was need of a truly divine Interpreter to decipher them.

^e DAN. iv. 20, 21.

to support the credit of those interpretations, nor a perplexity sufficiently copious to support the mystery of this application.—But by the time hieroglyphics were become sacred, Egypt was very learned.—Now they were sacred in the days of Joseph, as appears from the use of interpreting dreams according to those Symbols.—Therefore *learned Egypt of very high antiquity.*

II. My second argument for this antiquity is deduced from the true original of ANIMAL-WORSHIP; and stands thus: We have observed, that in those improved hieroglyphics, called *Symbols* (in which, it is confessed, the ancient Egyptian learning was contained) the less obvious properties of animals occasioned their becoming marks, by analogical adaption, for very different ideas, whether of substances or modes; which plainly intimates that physical knowledge had been long cultivated. Now these symbols I hold to be the true original of ANIMAL-WORSHIP in Egypt. But animal worship was the *established worship* in the time of MOSES, as is evident from the book of *Exodus*: Therefore the Egyptian learning was of this high antiquity^f. The only proposition, in

^f But if you will believe a late writer, *Animal-worship* was so far from coming from *Hieroglyphics*, that *Hieroglyphics* came out of *Animal-worship*. This is an unexpected change of the scene; but, for our comfort, 'tis only the forced consequence of a false hypothesis, which will be well considered in its place: “The *hieroglyphical* inscriptions of the Egyptians (says he) are
“ pretty full of the figures of birds, fishes, beasts, and men,
“ with a few letters sometimes between them; and this alone is
“ sufficient to *hint* to us, that they could not come into use be-
“ fore the animals, represented in inscriptions of this sort,
“ were become by allegory and mythology capable of expressing
“ various things by their having been variously used in the
“ ceremonies of their religion.” *Connect. of the Sacred and*

in this argument, that needs any proof, is the first. The reasons therefore which induce me to think *symbolic writing* to be the sole origin of *Animal-worship* are these:

1. This kind of idolatry was peculiar to the *Egyptian* superstition; and almost unknown to all the Casts of paganism, but such as were evidently copied from that original^g: MOSES treats it as their distinguishing superstition^h: The Greeks and Romans, though at a loss for its original, yet speak of it as the peculiar extravagance of *Egypt*: And the most intelligent of the moderns consider it in the very same lightⁱ.

2. The *Egyptians* not only worshiped *Animals*, but PLANTS; and, in a word, every kind of being that had qualities remarkably singular or efficaci-

Profane History, vol. ii. p. 294. But if this were the case, How came these animals to be *so capable* of expressing by *allegory* and *mythology*? or in other words, How came they to be the objects of worship? We are yet to seek; and it must be more than a *hint* that can supply us with a reason.

^g Such as the several gentile nations of Palestine and India.

^h DEUT. iv. ver. 14, to 21.

ⁱ The learned *Fourmont* thus expresses himself: — *Mais pour parler simplement & sans fard, il faudra bon gré malgré en revenir à ceci, que les Egyptiens étoient, & s'ils pensoient un peu, devoient se croire eux mêmes un peuple fort extravagant; on n'apothéose point sans folie les Oignons & les Asperges: que pensez encore des Dieux Oiseaux, Poissons, Serpens, Crocodiles? mais non-seulement ils avoient deifié les animaux; ce qui est plus étrange encore, infatués de la Métémpsychose, ils s'étoient enthousiasmés la dessus de Mystagogies incompréhensibles. Leurs pretres, par un zèle qu'on ne connoit pas trop, s'étoient rendus les Predicateurs de ces mêmes folies; & ils en avoient dans leurs conquêtes, ou par des missions, infecté toute l'Inde, toute la Chine, tout le Japon. Reflex. Crit. sur les Hist. des Anc. Peuples, tom. i. p. 227.*

ous;

ous; because all these had found their place in symbolic writing: For, as hath been shewn when Hieroglyphics came to be employed for mystery, no sooner was one Symbol grown common and vulgar, than another was invented of a more recondite meaning: so that the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms would be all explored to paint the histories of their Gods.

3. Besides the adoration of almost every thing existing, the *Egyptians* worshiped a thousand Chimeras of their own creation: Some with human bodies, and the head or feet of brutes; others with brutal bodies, and the heads or feet of men; while others again were a fantastic compound of the several parts of beasts, birds, and reptiles, terrestrial and aquatic: For besides the simpler method, in hieroglyphic writing, of expressing their herogods by an intire plant or animal, there were two others which the more circumstantial history of those deities brought in use. Thus when the subject was only one single quality of a god or hero, the human shape was only partially deformed^k; as with the head of a dog, hawk, or ram; to denote fidelity, vigilance, or strength; with the feet and thighs of a goat, to represent rusticity, agility, or lust; and this gave Being to their Anubis, Pan, and Jupiter Ammon: But where the subject required a fuller catalogue of the hero's virtues or useful qualities, there they employed an assemblage of the several parts of various animals: each of which, in hieroglyphic writing, was significative of a distinct property: in which assemblage, that ani-

^k Εἰκασαὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς τις μέχρι τραχήλου ἀνθρωποειδής, τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον ὀρνέθ, ἢ λέοντος, ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς ζώου κεκλημένος· καὶ πάλιν αὐ κεφαλὴν ἀνθρωπεύς, καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν ζώων μέρη πῶ μὲν ὑποκείμενα, πῶ δὲ ἐπικείμενα. Porph. de Abst. l. iv.

mal, more peculiarly representative of the God, was most conspicuous. This will explain the verse of *Anticlides* in his hymn to the sun,

Ἡέλιος δὲ Νότοιο Ἄναξ ἱεραῖς πολυμορφε.

The sun was generally expressed by a *hawk*; but this *symbolic hawk*, under various considerations, had the various parts of other animals added to it.

4. That animal which was worshiped in one city was sacrificed in another. Thus, though at Memphis they adored the ox, at Mendes the goat, and at Thebes the ram; yet, in one place or other, each of these animals was used in sacrifice: but bulls and clean calves were offered up in all places. The reason of this can only be that at Memphis the ox, was, in hieroglyphic learning, the symbol of some deity; at Mendes the goat; and at Thebes the ram; but the bull and calf no where: For what else can be said for the original of so fantastical a diversity in *representative* deities within a kingdom of one national religion?—But farther, the same animal was feasted in one place, with divine honours; in another it was pursued with the direst execrations. Thus, at Arsinoë, the crocodile was adored; because having no tongue it was made in hieroglyphic writing the symbol of the divinity¹; elsewhere it was had in horror, as being made in

¹ Plutarch, in general, tells us, that the Egyptians thus considered the crocodile; but this author, for private ends, delivering a false original of Animal-worship, it was not to his purpose to tell us it was so considered in *symbolic writing*: — ἡ μὲν οὖν αἰτίας πιθανῆς ἀμοιβῆσαν ἔσχηκε τιμὴν, ἀλλὰ ἡ μίμνησκα δὲ λέγεσθαι γερονέναι, μόνον μὲν ἀγλωσσόν ὡν φωνῆς γὰρ οὐδεὶς λόγος ἀπροσδεής ἐστι — *De Is. & Osir.*

the same writing the symbol of Typhon^m; that is, it was used as a *sacred character* in the history both of their *natural* and *civil* Theology.

5. Brute-worship was, at *first*, altogether objective to their hero-gods; of whom animals were but the representatives. This is seen from the rank they hold on ancient monuments; from the unvaried worship of some few of them, as the *Apis*, which still continued to be adored as the representative of Osiris:—and from the express testimony of Herodotus; who says, that, when the Egyptians addressed the sacred Animal, their devotions were paid to that God to whom the beast belongedⁿ.

6. But to make the matter still plainer, it may be observed, that the most early brute-worship in Egypt was not an adoration of the living animal, but only of its picture or image. This truth Herodotus seems to hint at in Euterpe, where he says, the Egyptians erected the first altars, images, and temples to the gods, and carved the FIGURES OF ANIMALS on stones^o. Now, were the original of brute-worship any other than what is here supposed, the living animal must have been first worshiped, and the image of it would have been only an attendant superstition. From the SECOND COMMAND-

^m The subsequent doctrine of the *Metempsychosis* soon made this the foundation of a fable, that the soul of Typhon had passed into a crocodile,—that Typhon had assumed that figure, &c. See *Ælian's Hist. of Animals*, lib. x. cap. 21.

ⁿ Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇσι πόλεσι ἕκαστοι εὐχὰς τὰς δὲ σφί ἀπολελέεσι· εὐχόμενοι τῷ θεῷ τῷ ἄν ἢ τὸ θεῖον—lib. ii. c. 65.

^o Βωμὸς τε καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ νηὲς θεοῖσι ἀπονεῖμαι σφέας πρώτους, καὶ ζῶα ἐν λίθοις ἐγλύψαι. c. 4.

MENT, and Moses's exhortation to obedience, it appears that the Egyptians at the time of the Exodus, worshiped no living animal, but the picture or image only: "Thou shalt have no other Gods before me. Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth. Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them^p." Thus speaks the law of the first table; by which we not only see that brute-worship was under an image, but that such image was symbolical of Gods different from the animal pictured, and alluded to in the words, *Thou shalt have no other Gods before me*. Another thing observable in the law is, that not only the making pictures and images for adoration was forbidden, but the simple making of them at all. And thus the Jews understood it. The consequence was, that *hieroglyphics* were forbidden: a strong proof of their being the source of the idolatry in question. MOSES, in his exhortation to the people, paraphrases and explains this law: "Take ye, therefore, good heed unto yourselves (for ye saw no manner of similitude on the day that the LORD spake to you in Horeb, out of the midst of the fire) lest ye corrupt yourselves and make you a graven image, the similitude of any figure, the likeness of male or female, the likeness of any beast that is on the earth, the likeness of any winged fowl that flieth in the air, the likeness of any thing that creepeth on the ground, the likeness of any fish that is in the waters beneath the earth^q." There are two important conclusions to be drawn from the reason of this exhortation, *for you saw no*

^p EXOD. xx. 3, 4, 5.

^q DEUT. iv. 15, 16, 17.
manner

manner of similitude, &c. The first is, that the Egyptian brute-worship was *symbolical*; the other, that MOSES's prime intention was to warn the people against representing the God of Israel under the shape of men or animals, in the guise of the greater Gods of Egypt. This observation will open our way to another circumstance, which shews that the worship of the *living animal* was not yet in use amongst the Egyptians; and that is, the idolatrous erection of the *golden calf*^r. The people now suspecting they had lost MOSES, whom they were taught to consider as the vicegerent, or representative of their GOD, grew impatient for another; and, besotted with Egyptian superstitions, chose for his representative the same which the Egyptians used for the symbol of their great God, Osiris. Interpreters seem to run into two different extremes concerning this matter, some conceiving that the Israelites worshiped an egyptian God under the *golden calf*; though the worshipers themselves expressly declare the contrary: "These (say they) be thy Gods, O *Israel*, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt^s." Others suppose the *calf* was not made in imitation of any egyptian symbol whatsoever, because it was the living Apis that represented Osiris: but we see the worship of the living animal was not yet in-

^r As unanswerable a proof as this appears to be, that the *living Animal* was not yet worshiped in Egypt, (for if it were, what occasion for this trouble and expence?) Yet a learned German, so oddly are men's heads sometimes framed, brings this circumstance to prove that the *living Animal* was at this time worshiped in Egypt. — Eadem historia Mosaica cultus vivorum animalium in Ægypto, vestigia alia non inficienda, tum sæpe alias, tum vero omnium clarissime in VITULO AUREO nobis offert. Jablonski — *Pantheon Ægyptorum Prologom.* p. 85.

^s EXOD. xxxii. 4.

roduced.

roduced. However, in time, and in no long time neither, for it was as early as the Prophets, the Egyptians began to worship the *animal itself*; which worship, as might be well expected, prevailed at length over that of its image. *Colunt effigies multorum animalium, atque ipsa MAGIS animalia*, says Pomponius Mela¹ of the Egyptians; and this naturally gave birth to new superstitions; for, as he goes on, *Apis populorum omnium numen est. Bos niger, certis maculis insignis—raro nascitur, nec coitu pecoris (ut aiunt) sed divinitus & cœlesti igne conceptus.*

These considerations are sufficient to shew that *hieroglyphics* were indeed the original of *brute-worship*: And how easy it was for the Egyptians to fall into it from the use of this kind of writing, appears from hence. In these hieroglyphics was recorded the history of their greater, and tutelary deities, their kings and lawgivers; represented by animals and other creatures. The symbol of each god was well known and familiar to his worshipers, by means of the popular paintings and engravings on their temples and other sacred monuments²: so that the symbol presenting the idea of the God, and that idea exciting sentiments of religion, it was natural for them, in their addresses to any particular deity, to turn towards his representative, mark or symbol. This will be easily granted if we reflect, that when the egyptian priests began to speculate, and grow mysterious, they feigned a

¹ *De sit. orb. lib. i. cap. 6.*

² This account is supported by Herodotus, where saying that the Egyptians first of all raised altars, statues, and temples to the gods, he immediately adds, and engraved animals on stone: Βωμὸς τε καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ νηὲς θεοῖσι ἀπονεῖμαι σφείας πρῶτον, καὶ ΖΩΑ-ΕΝ ΛΙΘΟΙΣΙ ΕΓΓΡΑΥΑΙ. l. ii. c. 4.

divine original for hieroglyphic characters, in order to render them still more august and venerable. This would, of course, bring on a *relative* devotion to these symbolic figures; which, when it came to be paid to the living animal, would soon terminate in an *ultimate* worship.

But the occasional propensity to this superstition was, without question, forwarded and encouraged by the Priesthood; for it greatly supported the worship of the hero-deities, by making their theology more intricate; and by keeping out of sight, what could not but weaken religious veneration in remote posterity, the naked truth, that they were only DEAD MEN DEIFIED. And these advantages they afterwards improved with notable address; by making those Symbols as well relative to new conceived imaginary qualities and influences of their first *natural gods*, the host of heaven, as to what they properly respected, in hieroglyphic writing, their later heroes and tutelary deities: Which trick invented to keep the Egyptians in their superstition, spread so impenetrable an obscurity over paganism, as hindered the most sagacious Philosophers and knowing Antiquaries of Greece from ever getting a right view of the rise and progress of their own idolatry.

And, if I be not much mistaken, it was the design of these Egyptian priests to commemorate the advantages of this contrivance in the celebrated fable* of TYPHON'S WAR WITH THE GODS; who, distressed and terrified by this earth-born giant, fled from his persecution into EGYPT; and there hid

* *Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 54. Steph. Ed.* informs us, that this was an Egyptian fable: as does *Lucian*, in his tract *De sacrificiis*.

themselves each under the form of a several ANIMAL. This adventure is related by Ovid in a very agreeable and artful manner, where he makes one of the impious Pierides sing it, in their contest with the Muses:

*Bella canit superum: Falsoque in honore gigantes
Ponit, & extenuat magnorum facta deorum;
Emissumque ima de sede Typhoëa terræ
Cælitibus fecisse metum; cunctosque dedisse
Terga fugæ: donec fessos ÆGYPTIA tellus
Ceperit, & septem discretus in ostia Nilus.
Huc quoque terrigenam venisse Typhoëa narrat,
Et se MENTITIS superos celasse FIGURIS:
Duxque gregis, dixit, sit Jupiter: UNDE recurvis
Nunc quoque formatus Libys est cum cornibus
Ammon.*

*Delius in corvo, proles Semelëia capro,
Fele soror Phæbi, nivea Saturnia vacca,
Pisce Venus latuit, Cyllenius Ibidis alis^y.*

Typhon, amongst the Egyptians, was the exemplar of impiety: so that under that name we are to understand the *inquisitive*, which the priests always surnamed *the impious*; (such who in after times, followed the celebrated Euhemerus of Greece) these, in a malicious search into the genealogies of their Gods, had so near detected their original, and consequently endangered their worship, that the priests had nothing left but to perplex and embroil the enquiry, by encouraging the SYMBOLIC worship as explained above. Hence this fable (in which they celebrated the subtilty of their expedient) that Egypt afforded a place of refuge for the Gods; who there lay hid under the *forms of*

^y Metam. lib. v. fab. 5.

beasts. Where we must observe, that the shape each God was said to have assumed, was that of his symbolic mark in hieroglyphic writing^z. Indeed Antonius Liberalis^a differs from Ovid in the particular transformations; and Lucian^b, from them both; but this rather confirms than weakens our interpretation; since each God, as we have seen, was denoted by divers hieroglyphics. We must not suppose however, that the whole of their distress, came from the quarter of their enemies. More favourable enquirers would be a little troublesome. And the same expedient would keep them at a distance likewise. The Priests seem to have hinted at this case likewise, in the similar story they told Herodotus, “that Hercules was very desirous to see Jupiter, who was by no means con-

^z SIS, in the eastern languages, signified a *swallow*: under whose form, as this fable says, Isis concealed herself: and BUBASTE, which signifies a *cat*, was the egyptian name of Diana, who lay hid under that shape. Hence the learned Bochart supposes, in his usual way, that the original of this fable was only an equivoque of some greek story-teller, whose countrymen delighted in the marvellous. But 1. The fable was not of greek invention, if we may believe Diodorus and Lucian; the latter of whom, speaking of the Egyptian account of it, says, ταῦτα γὰρ ἀμέλει ἐν τοῖς ἀδύτοις ἀπόκειναι γραφέντα. πρὶν ἢ πρὸ ἐτῶν μυρίων, *de sacrificiis.* 2. This only places the difficulty a step backward, without removing it: For one might ask, How came the Egyptian name of Diana to signify a *cat*; or the word Sis or Isis to signify a *swallow*? Can any other good reason be given but that these Goddesses were expressed by such *symbols* in hieroglyphic writing? Agreeably to this, *Horapollon* tells us [lib. i. cap. 7.] that the *hieroglyphic* for the *soul* was a *hawk*, which in the Egyptian tongue was called *Baieth*, a word compounded of *Bai* and *Eth*, the first of which signified, in that language, the *soul*; the other the *heart*: for according to the Egyptians the heart was the inclosure of the soul. But if this were the case, what we have given above seems the more natural original of the story.

^a Cap. xxviii.^b De Sacrif.

sending to this interview; at last overcome by the hero's importunity, he eluded his curiosity, by this expedient: he flay'd the carcase of a ram; and investing himself with the skin separated with the head from the body, he presented himself under that appearance to the inquirer^c." Herodotus himself seems to hint at something like the explanation of the fable of Typhon given above, where speaking of Pan soon after, and on the same occasion, he says, "The Egyptians represent Pan " as the Grecians paint him, with the face and legs " of a goat. Not that they imagine this to be his " real form, which is the same with that of the " other Gods. But I take no satisfaction in recording the reason they give for representing " him in this manner^d." From these two different ways of relating the circumstance of Jupiter's and Pan's disguises under a brutal form, it appears that the egyptian priests had two accounts concerning it, the exoteric and the esoteric. Herodotus, in the story of Jupiter, makes no scruple to record the first; but the other, which concerns Pan's transformation, he did not care to touch upon.

If this explanation of the famous fable of Typhon needed any further support, we might find it in

^c Οηδαῖοι μὲν νυν, καὶ ὅσοι διὰ τέτης οἶον ἀπέχονται, διὰ τὰδε λέγουσι τὸν νόμον τόνδε σφί τεθῆναι. Ἡρακλέα θελῆσαι πάντως ἰδέσθαι τὸν Δία, καὶ τὸν ἑκ ἐθέλειν ὀφθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτῷ· τέλος δέ, ἐπεὶ τε λιπαρέειν τὸν Ἡρακλέα, τὸν Δία μηχανήσασθαι, κριὸν ἐκδείραντα προεχέσθαι τε τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπολαμόντα τῷ κριῷ, καὶ ἐνδύντα τὸ νάκος, ἔτω οἱ ἐωϋτὸν ἐπιδείξαι. lib. ii. c. 42.

^d — τῷ Πανὸς τὸ γαλμα, κατὰ περ Ἕλληνας, αἰγοπρόσωπον καὶ τραγοσκελέα· ἔτι τοῦτον νομίζοντες εἶναι μιν, ἀλλ' ὅμοιον τοῖσι ἄλλοις θεοῖσι. ὅτεν δέ ἐνεκα τοῦτον γράφουσιν αὐτὸν, ἔ μοι ἡδιόν ἐστι λέγειν. lib. ii. c. 46.

what the Egyptian Theologers continued to deliver down concerning it. Diodorus Siculus, speaking of the difficulty in discovering the true original of Egyptian brute-worship, says, that the priests had a profound secret concerning it^c: A strong presumption that this here delivered, was the secret; it being the only one which the Priests were much concerned to keep to themselves; as we shall see when we come to speak of the *causes* assigned by the Ancients for brute-worship. What the Priests thought fit to intrust to the people concerning this matter, the Sicilian tells us, was this; *That the Gods of the early times being few in number, and so forced to yield to the multitude and injustice of earth-born men, assumed the forms of divers Animals, and by that means escaped the cruelty and violence of their enemies; but that, at length, gaining the empire of the world, they consecrated the species of those Animals whose forms they had assumed, in gratitude for that relief which they had received from them in their distresses^f.* The moral of the fable lies too open to need an Interpreter: it can hardly, indeed, be any other than that we have here given. But Diodorus aids us in the discovery of that secret, which he himself appears not to have penetrated, where he says that Melampus, who brought the *Mysteries of Proserpine* from Egypt into Greece, taught them the story of TYPHON, and the whole

^c Οἱ μὲν Ἱερεῖς αὐτῶν ἀπόρρητόν τι δόγμα περὶ τούτων ἔχουσιν. — lib. P. 54.

^f Φασὶ γὰρ τὰς ἐξ ἀρχῆς γενομένας θεάς, ὀλίγας οὐσίας καὶ κατισχυομένας ὑπὸ τῆς πλῆθους καὶ τῆς ἀνομίας τῶν γηγενῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὁμοιωθῆναι τισὶ τῶν ζώων, καὶ διὰ τῆς τοιούτου τρόπου διαφυγεῖν τὴν ὀμότητά καὶ βίαν αὐτῶν· ὕστερον δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὸν κόσμον πάντων κρατήσασθαι καὶ τοῖς αἰτίοις τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς σωτηρίας χάριν ἀποδιδόναι, ἀφιερῶσαι τὰς φύσεις αὐτῶν εἰς ἀφωμοιωθῆσαν. — lib. i. P. 54.

history of the disasters and sufferings of the Gods^s. Now we have shewn^h that one part of the office of the *Hierophant* of the Mysteries was to reveal the true original of Polytheism: which instruction could not be conveyed more appositely, than in the history of *Typhon*, as here explained. From the whole then, we conclude, that *this* was indeed the *profound secret*, which the Egyptian priests had concerning it. So that the passage of Diodorus, last quoted, not only supports our interpretation of the *fable of Typhon*, but of the *secret of the Mysteries* likewise.

Only one thing is worth our notice, that the Priests should think fit to give the people this curious origin of brute-worship: We have observed, that they promoted and encouraged this Brutal-idolatry in order to hide the weakness of their Hero-worship: but then some reason was to be given for that more extravagant superstition; so, by a fine contrivance, they made the *circumstances* of the fable, by which they would commemorate their address in introducing a new superstition to support the old, a *reason* for that introduced support. This was a fetch of policy worthy of an Egyptian priesthood.

But let us hear what the Ancients in general have to say concerning the beginning of *brute-worship*. Now the Ancients having generally mistaken the origin of *Hieroglyphics*, it is no wonder they should be mistaken, in this likewise: and how much they were mistaken, their diversity and in-

^s τὸ σύνολον τὴν περὶ τὰ πάθη τῶν θεῶν ἱστορίαν. lib. i.

^h Vol. i. part I.

constancy of opinion plainly shew us: And yet amidst this diversity, the cause here assigned hath escaped them; which had otherwise, 'tis probable, put an end to all farther conjecture. But as they chanced to fall into variety of wrong opinions, it will be incumbent on me to examine and confute them. What I can at present recollect as any way deserving notice, are the following:

They suppose brute-worship to have arisen,

1. From the *benefits* men receive of animals.
2. From the doctrine of the *metempsychosis*.
3. From the use of *asterisms*.
4. From the notion of God's *pervading* all things.
5. From the use of Animals as *Symbols* of the divine nature.
6. From the invention of a certain egyptian king for his private ends of *policy*.

These, I think, are all the opinions of moment. And of these, we may observe in general, that the fourth and fifth are least wide of the truth, as making brute-worship *symbolical*: But the defect, common to them all, is that the reason assigned by each concludes for the universality of this worship throughout paganism; whereas it was in fact peculiar to Egypt; and seen and owned to be so by these very Ancients themselves.

I. The first opinion is that we find in Cicer^oⁱ, who supposes the original to be *a grateful sense of benefits received from animals*. 1. This labours under all the defects of an inadequate cause, as concluding both too much, and too little: Too much; because, on this ground, brute-worship would have been common to all nations; but it was peculiar to the Egyptian and its colonies: Too little; 1. because on this ground none but useful animals should have been worshiped; whereas several of the most useless and noxious^k were held sacred. 2. Plant-

ⁱ *Ipsi, qui irridentur, Ægyptii, nullam beluam, nisi ob aliquam utilitatem, quam ex ea caperent, consecraverunt. — Ita concludam tamen beluas a Barbaris propter beneficium consecratas.* Nat. Deor. l. i. c. 36. this, in the person of Cotta the academic. How ill it agrees with what the same Cotta says afterwards, I have shewn above: *Omne ferè genus Bestiarum Ægyptii consecraverunt.* lib. iii. cap. 15. Now this being a fact, and the other but a speculation, we see the reason has no weight. The wonder is that Tully should not see it. But the notion was plausible, and antiquity seemed enamoured of it. When Plutarch [*Is. & Os.*] had said, the Jews worshiped swine; not content with this simple calumny, he invents a reason for it; and takes up this which lay so commodious for these occasions; namely, gratitude to that animal for having taught men to plow the ground.

^k A passage in Eusebius strongly confirms our opinion of the origin of brute-worship; and, consequently, accounts for the adoration paid to noxious animals: *Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς πάλιν περὶ τῶν Φοινίκων στοιχείων ἐκ τῶν Σαλχωνιαθῶν μελαβαλῶν, θεὰ ὁποῖά φησι περὶ τῶν ἐρπυστικῶν καὶ ἰοδόλων θηρίων, ἃ δὴ χρησιν μὲν ἀγαθὴν ἀνθρώποις ὑδερμίαν συντελεῖ, φθορὰν δὲ καὶ λύμην οἷς ἂν τὸν δυσαλθὴ καὶ χαλεπὸν ἰὸν εἰς χρίμψιν ἀπεργάζεται. γράφει δὲ καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς λέξιν ᾧδε πως λέγων. Τὴν μὲν ἐν τῇ Δράκοντι φύσιν καὶ τῶν Ὀφίων αὐτὸς ἐξεθείασεν ὁ Τάαυτι, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν αὐθις Φοινικὲς τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι.* [*Pr. Evang. lib. i. cap. 10.*] Consider again what he [*Philo*] says in his translation of Sanchoniatho's discourse of the Phenician elements, concerning certain reptiles and other venomous animals, which not only bring no benefit to man, but convey certain mischief and destruction on whomsoever they shed their deadly venom. These are his very words. *Taautus therefore consecrated the species of dragons and serpents,*

2. *Plant-worship* must then, in the nature of things, have been prior to, or at least coeval with that of *brutes*. But it was much later; and, on our theory, we see how this came to pass; the *vegetable* world would not be explored, to find out hieroglyphical analogies, 'till the *animal* had been exhausted.

II. Neither could *the doctrine of the metempsychosis*, mentioned by DIODORUS¹, be the origin of brute-worship: 1. Because that opinion was common to all nations; but brute-worship peculiar to Egypt. The doctrine of the *metempsychosis* flourisheth, at this day, with greater vigour in India, than, perhaps, it ever did in any place or age of the world: yet it occasions no worship, or religious veneration to those animals which are supposed the receptacles of departed souls. A very excessive charity towards them it does indeed afford. And this is the more remarkable, not only as this people are sunk into the most fordid supersti-

serpents, and the Phenicians and Egyptians followed him in this superstition. The quotation from Philo then goes on to shew, from the nature of the serpent-kind, why it was made a symbol of the Divinity. The discourse of Sanchoniathon here mentioned, as translated by Philo, was part of a larger work, which he wrote concerning the Phenician and Egyptian wisdom and learning, and treated of *hieroglyphic characters*, as appears from the title of Φοινίκων ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΝ, which latter word, I have shewn to be the technical term for *hieroglyphics*: but how a digression, concerning the consecration of noxious animals should come into this discourse, unless the author understood *hieroglyphics* to be the origin of *brute-worship*, is difficult to conceive.

¹ Diodorus delivers this original, in his account of the superstitious worship of the Apis: Τῆς δὲ τῆ βοῦς τύτῃ τιμῆς αἰτίαν ἔτιοι φέρουσι, λέγοντες ὅτι τελευτήσαντος Ὀσίριδος, εἰς τῆτον ἢ ψυχὴ αὐτῷ μένει, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα διατελεῖ μέχρι τῆ νῦν αἰὲ κατὰ τὰς ἀναδείξεις αὐτῷ μεθισαμένη πρὸς τὰς μελαγενεστέρας. lib. i. p. 54.

tions, but because, having learnt animal-worship of Egypt^m, if the doctrine of the *metempsychosis* had any natural tendency to inflame that superstition, they had by this time been totally devoted to it. 2. Because the hypothesis which makes *transmigration* the origin of brute-worship, must suppose brutes to be venerated as the receptacle of *human* souls become deified: but the ancient Egyptians deified none but *heroic* and *demonic* souls: and souls of this order were not supposed subject to the common law of the *metempsychosis*ⁿ. 3. The intrusion of those souls into brutal bodies, according to the law of transmigration, was understood to be a punishment for crimes. Their prison-house therefore could never become the object of adoration; but rather of aversion and abhorrence; as all *subterraneous* fire was amongst the ancient Romans, and as that of *purgatory* is amongst the modern. 4. Lastly, the doctrine of the *metempsychosis* was much later than the first practice of brute-worship; and evidently invented to remove objections against Providence^o, when men began to speculate and philosophise. What seems to have given birth to this opinion of the origin of brute-worship, was the fancy of the later Egyptians, that the soul of Osiris resided in the Apis. Diodorus himself supports the conjecture: For, reckoning up the several opinions concerning the origin of brute-worship when he comes to that of the *metem-*

^m As appears from hence, that those few animals, which are the objects of their religious worship, are such as were formerly most revered in Egypt; and into such, no souls are doomed by the law of transmigration; the reason of which we shall see presently.

ⁿ The difference between *heroic*, *demonic*, and *human* souls, as it was conceived by the most early pagans, will be explained hereafter.

^o See vol. i. part ii. ed. 4. p. 135.

psychosis, he delivers it in a popular relation of the soul of Osiris residing in the Apis.

III. The third opinion we find to be favoured by LUCIAN^o; which is, that *the Egyptian invention of distinguishing the Constellations, and marking each of them with the name of some animal, gave the first occasion to brute-worship.* But 1. the same objection lies against this solution as against the two preceding: for this way of distinguishing the Asterisms was in use in all nations; but brute-worship was confined to Egypt and its colonies. 2. This way of solving the difficulty creates a greater: for then nothing will be left in Antiquity^p, to account for so extraordinary a custom as the giving to one Constellation the form of a ram, to another the form of a scorpion, &c. when, in the apparent disposition of those stars there was not so much resemblance to any one part of any one animal as was sufficient to set the fancy on work to make out the rest. But if, for distinction sake, those things were to have a name which had no shape^q; why

^o Οἱ δὲ [Αἰγύπτιοι] καὶ ἄλλα ἐμήσαντο πολλὰ μείζω τελέων· ἐκ γὰρ δὴ τῆς παλῆς ἡμέρας, καὶ αἰτέρων τῶν ἄλλων, ἀπλανέων τε καὶ εὐσταθέων, καὶ ὅδ' ἅμα κινεομένων, δώδεκα μοῖρας ἐτάμοντο ἐν τοῖσι κινεομένοισι, καὶ οἰκεία ζῶα ἐόντα, ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐς ἄλλην μορφήν μεμιμέσθαι — ἀπὸ τῶν δὴ καὶ ἱερὰ τὰ Αἰγύπτια πολυειδέα ποιέσθαι· ὃ γὰρ πάντες Αἰγύπτιοι ἐκ τῶν δώδεκα μοιρέων πασέων ἐμαντέοντο, ἄλλοι δὲ, ἀλλοίησι μοίρῃσιν ἐχρέοντο· καὶ κριὸν μὲν σέβουσιν, ὅκοσοι ἐς κριὸν ἀπέβλεπον· ἰχθύας δὲ ἔσιλέονται, ὅκοσοι ἰχθύας ἐπεσημήναντο· ὅδ' ἐτραγον κλείουσιν, ὅσοι αἰγόκερων ἤδεσαν — ναὶ μὲν καὶ Ταῦρον ἐς τιμὴν τῆς ἡμέρας Ταύρεσιν ἐβίβοντο. *De Astrologia.*

^p I say, in Antiquity: for as to the solution of this point by the liberty of imagining, nothing is more easy. The french author of *the History of the Heavens* has, by the mere force of imagination, removed all these difficulties; not only without any support from Antiquity, but even in defiance of it.

^q Εἶδεα σημαίνειν ἄφαρ δ' ὀνόματα γένοιτο
 Ἀστρα — *Arat. in φαινομ.*

then; as being of such regard from their supposed influences, were they not rather honoured with the titles of their heroes than of their brutes? Would the polite Egyptian priests, who first animalized the Asterisms, do like Tom Otter in the comedy, bring their *Bulls* and *Bears* to court? would they exalt them in heaven before they had made any considerable figure upon earth? The fact is, indeed, just otherwise. It was brute-worship which gave birth to the Asterisms. That the constellations were first named and distinguished by the Egyptians is agreed on all hands: that they were much later than the beginning of brute-worship is as evident; the confused multitude of stars not being thus sorted into bands, 'till the Egyptian priests had made some considerable progress in astronomy: But brute-worship, we know from Scripture, was prior to the time of MOSES. When they began to collect the stars into Constellations, a name was necessary to keep up the combination; and animals, now become the religious symbols of their Gods, afforded the aptest means for that purpose: For 1. it did honour to their heroes: 2. it supported their *astrology* (which always went along, and was often confounded with their *astronomy*) it being understood to imply that their country Gods had now taken up their residence in Constellations of benignant influence.

IV. Nor is there any better foundation for the fourth opinion; which is that of PORPHYRY^r; who supposes that *the doctrine of God's pervading all*

^r Ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης ὁρμώμενοι τῆς ἀσκήσεως, καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον οἰκειώσεως, ἔγνωσαν, ὡς ἔ δι' ἀνθρώπου μόνου τὸ θεῖον διήλθεν, ἕτε ψυχὴ ἐν μόνῳ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐπὶ γῆς κατεσκήνωσεν, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν ἢ αὐτὴ διὰ πάντων διήλθεν τῶν ζώων· διὸ εἰς τὴν θεοποιίαν παρέλαβον πᾶν ζῶον. — *De Abst.* lib. iv.

things was the original of brute-worship. But, 1. it proves too much: for according to this notion, every thing would have been the object of divine worship amongst the early Egyptians, but we know many were not. 2. According to this notion, nothing could have been the object of their execration, but we know many were. 3. This notion was never an opinion of the people, but of a few of the learned only: 4. And those, not of the learned of Egypt, but of Greece^s. In a word, this pretended original of brute-worship was only an invention of their late Philosophers, to hide the deformities, and to support the credit of declining paganism^t.

V. Akin to this, and invented for the same end, is what we find in JAMBLICHUS^u; namely, *That brutes were deified only as the symbols of the first cause, considered in all his attributes and relations.* Groundless as this fancy is, yet as it is embraced by our best philologists, such as Cudworth, Vossius, and Kircher, on the faith of those fanatic and inveterate enemies to christianity, Porphyry and Jamblichus, I shall endeavour to expose it as it deserves. This will be the best done by considering the rise and order of the *three great species of idolatry*. The first, in time, was, as we have shewn, the worship

^s See vol. i. part ii. p. 202, & seq.

^t See vol. i.

^u Πρώτερον δὴ σοι βέλομαι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τὸν τρόπον τῆς θεολογίας διεξηγήσασθαι. ἔτι γὰρ τὴν φύσιν τῆς παντὸς, καὶ τὴν δημιουργίαν τῶν θεῶν μιμήμενοι, καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶν μυστικῶν καὶ ἀποκεκρυμμένων καὶ ἀφανῶν νοήσεων εἰκόνας τινὰς διὰ συμβόλων ἐκφαίνουσιν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ φύσις τοῖς ἐμφανέσιν εἶδеси τῆς ἀφανείας λόγους διὰ συμβόλων, τρόπον τινὰ, ἀπετυπώσατο. ἡ δὲ τῶν θεῶν δημιουργία, τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῶν εἰδῶν διὰ τῶν φανερῶν εἰκόνων ὑπεγράψατο. εἰδότες ἔν χαίροντα πάντα τὰ κρείττονα ὁμοιάσει τῶν ὑποδεεσέων, καὶ βεβλόμενοι αὐτὰ ἀγαθῶν ἔτω πληρῆν διὰ τῆς καλὰ τὸ δυνατὸν μιμήσεως, εἰκότως καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸν πρόσφορον αὐτοῖς τρόπον τῆς κεκρυμμένης ἐν τοῖς συμβόλοις μυσαγωγίας προφέρουσιν. *De Myst. Egypt. sect. 7. c. i.*

of the *heavenly bodies*; and this continued unmixed till the institution of political Society: Then, another species arose, the deification of *dead kings and lawgivers*. Such was the course of idolatry in all places as well as in Egypt: but there, the method of recording the history of their hero Gods, in improved *hieroglyphics*, gave birth to the third species of idolatry, *brute-worship*; and this was peculiar to Egypt and its colonies. Now as the method used by all nations, of ingrafting *hero-worship* on *star-worship*, occasioned the Philologists to mistake * the former as symbolical of the latter; so the method, used by the Egyptians, (mentioned a little before) of supporting brute-worship, which was really symbolical of their hero Gods, made the same writers think it to be originally symbolical of star-Gods, and even of the first Cause. Thus the very learned Vossius fell into two mistakes: 1. That hero-worship was symbolical of star-worship: 2. That brute-worship was symbolical of it likewise. The consequence of which was, that the system of physical-theology, which was, indeed, one of the last sciences of the Egyptian *school*, was supposed to be the first; and hero worship, which was indeed the first religion of the Egyptian *church*, was supposed to be the last. This is no more than saying, that (for reasons given before) the Magistrate would very early institute the worship of their dead benefactors; and that the Philosopher could have no occasion, till many ages afterwards, (when men grew inquisitive or licentious) to hide the ignominy of it, by making those hero Gods only shadowy Beings, and no more than emblems of the several parts of nature ^y.

Now

* See the first vol.

^y And it is remarkable that this, which was done to hide the ignominy of *vulgar Paganism*, the advocates of the Church of Rome

Now tho' the doctrine of this early *physical Theology*, as explained by the Greeks, makes very much for the high antiquity of Egyptian learning, the point I am concerned to prove; yet as my only end is truth, in all these enquiries, I can, with the same pleasure, confute an error which supports my system, that I have in detecting those which made against it.

The common notion of these Philologists, we see, brings Hero-worship, by consequence, very low; and as some of their followers have pursued that consequence, I shall beg leave to examine their reasonings. The learned author of the *Connections* pushes the matter very far:—"It does not appear from this table [the *Bembine*] that the Egyptians worshiped any idols of human shape, at the time when this table was composed, but rather on the contrary, all the images herein represented, before which any persons are described in postures of adoration, being the figures of birds, beasts, or fishes; this table seems to have been delineated BEFORE the Egyptians worshiped the images of men and women; WHICH WAS THE LAST AND LOWEST STEP OF THEIR IDOLATRY²." Now the whole of this observa-

Rome have lately revived, to hide the ignominy of *vulgar Popery*, in their saint-worship: nothing having been of late more fashionable amongst the French Philologists than the contending against that most established doctrine of early Antiquity, that the greater Gods of Paganism were all dead men deified. Il soit aisé de prouver (says one of them) que, de tous les Dieux du Paganisme, Hercule, Castor & Pollux sont les seuls qui aient été véritablement des hommes. *Hist. de l'Académie Royale des Inscript. &c.* tom. xxiii. p. 17.

² *Sacred and Profane History of the World connected*, vol. ii. p. 320.

tion will, I am afraid, only amount to an *illogical consequence* drawn from a *false fact*; let the reader judge. *All the images* (he says) *herein represented before which any persons are described, in postures of adoration, are the figures of birds, beasts, and fishes.* I was some time in doubt whether the learned writer and I had seen the same table: for in that given us by Kircher, the whole body of the picture is filled up with the greater Egyptian Gods in HUMAN SHAPE; before several of which, are other human figures in postures of adoration; unless the learned writer will confine that posture to kneeling, which yet he brings no higher than the time of Solomon^a. Some of these worshipers are represented *sacrificing*^b; others in the act of offering; and offering to Gods enthroned^c. One of which figures I have caused to be engraved^d where a mummy from Kircher's *Oedipus*^e will shew us what sort of idol it is which we see worshiped by offerings^f. With regard to the kneeling postures of adoration, to birds, beasts, and fishes, these are in a narrow border of the table, which runs round the principal compartments. The learned writer indeed seems to make a matter of it, "that
 " all the images that kneel, are represented as
 " paying their worship to some animal figure;
 " there not being one instance or representation of
 " this worship paid to an image of human form,

^a *Sacred and Profane History of the World connected*, vol. ii. p. 317.

^b As at [S. V.]

^c As at [T. Φ.] [O. Σ.] and [S. X.]

^d See plate IX. fig. 1.

^e Fig. 2. plate IX.

^f Fig. 1.

" either

“either on the border or in the table^s.” But surely there is no mystery in this. The table was apparently made for the devotees of Isis in Rome: Now, amongst the Romans, brute-worship was so uncommon that the artist thought proper to mark it out by the most distinguished posture of adoration; while the worship of the greater Hero-Gods, a worship like their own, was sufficiently designed by the sole acts of offering and sacrifice.

But supposing the fact to have been as the writer of these *Connections* represents it; how, I ask, would his consequence follow, *That the table was made BEFORE the Egyptians worshiped the images of men and women?* It depends altogether on this supposition, that Brute-worship was not symbolical of Hero-worship; but the contrary hath been shewn. The learned author himself must own that Apis, at least, was the *symbol* of the Hero-God Osiris. But can any one believe, he was not worshiped in his own figure before he was delineated under that of an ox? To say the truth, had this author's fact been right, it had been a much juster consequence, *That the table was made AFTER the Egyptians had generally left off worshiping the images of men and women*; for it is certain, the symbolic worship of brutes brought human images into disuse. Who can doubt but human images of Hero-Gods were used in Egypt long before the time of Strabo? yet he tells us^h, that in their

^s *Sacred and Profane History of the World connected*, vol. ii. p. 318.

^h Τῆς δὲ καλᾶσκευῆς τῶν ἱερῶν ἡ διάθεσις τοιαύτη. Κατὰ τὴν εἰσ-
βολὴν τὴν εἰς τὸ τέμενος, Ἔς. — μεία δὲ τὰ προπύλαια, ὃ νεὺς
πρόναον ἔχων μέγαν, καὶ ἀξιόλογον. τὸν δὲ σηκὸν σύμμετρον, ξόανον δὲ
ἔδεν, ἢ ἐκ ἀνθρωπομορφον, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων τινός. *Geogr. lib.*
xvii. p. 1158, 1159. Amst. ed.

temples, (of which he gives a general description) they either had no images, or none of human form, but of some beast. He could not mean in those temples, dedicated to animals; for where had been the wonder of that? nor will this disuse of human images appear strange to those who reflect on what hath been said of these *Symbols*, which being supposed given by the Gods themselves, their use in religious worship would be thought most pleasing to the givers.

This conclusion is further strengthened by these considerations: 1. That the age of the *table* is so far from being of the antiquity conceived by the learned writer, that it is the very latest of all the old egyptian monuments; as appears from the mixture of all kinds of hieroglyphic characters in it. 2. That on almost all the obelisks¹ in Kircher's *Theatrum Hieroglyphicum*, which are undoubtedly very ancient, we see adoration given to idols in human form; and likewise in that very way the learned author so much insists upon, namely *Genuflexion*.

Thus, tho' from the *Bembine-table* nothing can be concluded for the high date of heroic image-worship, yet nothing can be concluded for the low. However the learned writer will still suppose, (what every one is so apt to do) that he is in the right; and therefore tries to maintain his ground by fact and reason.

His argument from *fact* stands thus:—"The Egyptians relate a very remarkable fable of the

¹ Namely the *Lateran* of *Rameffes*, the *Flaminian* of *Psammetichus*, the *Sallustian*, and the *Constantinopolitan*.

“ birth of these five Gods. They say that Rhea
 “ lay privately with Saturn, and was with child
 “ by him; that the Sun, upon finding out her base-
 “ ness, laid a curse upon her, that she should not
 “ be delivered in any month or year: That Mer-
 “ cury being in love with the goddess lay with her
 “ also; and then played at dice with the Moon,
 “ and won from her the seventy second part of
 “ each day, and made up of these winnings five
 “ days, which he added to the year, making
 “ the year to consist of three hundred sixty five
 “ days, which before consisted of three hundred
 “ and sixty days only; and that in these days Rhea
 “ brought forth five children, Osiris, Orus, Typho
 “ Isis, and Nephthe. We need not enquire into
 “ the mythology of this fable; what I remark
 “ from it is this, that the fable could not be in-
 “ vented before the Egyptians had found out that
 “ the year consisted of three hundred and sixty
 “ five days, and consequently that by their own
 “ accounts the five deities said to be born on the
 “ five ἐπαγόμενοι, or additional days, were not
 “ deified before they knew that the year had these
 “ five days added to it; and this addition to the
 “ year was made about—A. M. 2665. a little
 “ after the death of Joshua^k.”

I agree with this learned author, that *the fable*
could not be invented before the Egyptians had found
out that the year consisted of three hundred and sixty
five days; I agree with him, that the addition of
the five days might be made about A. M. 2665;
 but I deny the consequence, that *the five Gods were*
not deified before this addition to the year; nay, I deny
 that it will follow from the fable, that the makers

^k Connect. vol. ii. p. 283, 284.

and venders of it so thought. What hath misled the learned writer, seems to be his supposing that the fable was made to commemorate the deification of the five Gods, whereas it was made to commemorate the insertion of the five days; as appears from its being told in that figurative and allegoric manner, in which the Egyptians usually conveyed the history of their science: and it was ever the way of Antiquity, to make the Gods a party, in order to give the greater reverence to the inventions of men. A design to commemorate the *time of deification* was so absurd a thing in the politics of a pagan priest, that we can never believe he had any thing of that kind in view: it was his business to throw the Godhead back before all time; or at least to place it from time immemorial. But admitting the maker of this fable intended to celebrate in general the history of these five gods, can we think that he, who was hunting after the marvelous, would confine his invention within the inclosure of dates? a matter too of so dangerous a nature to be insisted on. We know, (and we now, partly, see the reason of it) that the ancient mythologists affected to confound all chronology; a mischief which hath so shaken the crazy edifice of ancient times, that the best chronologists have rather buried themselves in its ruins, than been able to lead others through it: besides, it is evident that new lies were every year told of their old Gods. Let him who doubts of this consider what additions following poets and theologers have made to the fables which Homer and Hesiod had recorded of the Gods; additions, seen, by their very circumstances, not to have been invented when those ancient bards sung of their intrigues. In these later fables we frequently find the Gods of Greece and Egypt concerned in adventures, whose dates, if measured by determined synchronisms,

chronisms, would bring down their births to ages even lower than their long established worship. The not attending to this has, as will be seen hereafter, egregiously misled the incomparable Sir Isaac Newton in his *ancient Chronology*. Thus the same author¹, Plutarch, tells us, in the same place, of another egyptian fable which makes *Typhon beget Hierosolymus and Judæus*^m. But what then? must we believe, that Typhon was no earlier than the name of Judæus? must we not rather conclude, that this was a late story invented of him out of hatred and contempt of the Hebrews?

In a word, this practice of adding new mythology to their old divinity was so notorious, that the learned *Connector of sacred and prophane history* could not himself forbear taking notice of it: “The Egyptians (says he) having first called their heroes by the names of their *siderial* and *elementary* deities, ADDED IN TIME TO THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE AND ACTIONS OF SUCH HEROES, A MYTHOLOGICAL *account of their philosophical opinions* concerning the Gods whose names, had been given to such heroesⁿ.”

But says this writer: “Had *Osiris, Orus, Typho, Isis, and Nephtis* been esteemed deities before this additional length of the year was apprehended, we should not have had this, but some other

¹ *Is. & Os.*

^m Tacitus seems to allude to this paltry fable: *Quidam, regnante Iside, exundantem per Ægyptum multitudinem, ducibus Hierosolyma & Juda, proximas in terras exoneratam.* Hist. lib. v. cap. 2.

ⁿ *Connect.* vol. ii. p. 300, 301.

“ *fabulous account of their birth transmitted to us*.”
Here the premisses and conclusion are severally propped up by two false suppositions; the premisses, by this, that the fable was invented to *commemorate the origin of these gods*; and the conclusion, by this, that we have no *other fabulous account of their birth*.

From fact, the learned writer comes to reason; and speaking of the egyptian hero-Gods, who he supposes, were ante-diluvian mortals, he says:—
“ But I do not imagine they were deified until
“ about this time of correcting the year; for when
“ this humour first began, it is not likely that
“ they made Gods of men but just dead, of whose
“ infirmities and imperfections many persons
“ might be living witnesses: but they took the
“ names of their first ancestors, whom they had
“ been taught to honour for ages, and whose
“ fame had been growing by the increase of tradition, and all whose imperfections had been
“ long buried, that it might be thought they never had any.—It is hard to be conceived that a
“ set of men could ever be chosen by their contemporaries to have divine honours paid them,
“ whilst numerous persons were alive, who knew
“ their imperfections, or who themselves or their
“ immediate ancestors might have as fair a pretence, and come in competition with them.
“ Alexander the great had but ill success in his
“ attempt to make the world believe him the son
“ of Jupiter Ammon; nor could Numa Pompilius, the second king of Rome, make Romulus’s translation to heaven so firmly believed,
“ as not to leave room for subsequent historians to

“ report him killed by his subjects. Nor can I
 “ conceive that Julius Cæsar’s canonization,
 “ though it was contrived more politicly, would
 “ ever have stood long indisputable, if the light
 “ of Christianity had not appeared so soon af-
 “ ter this time as it did, and impaired the credit
 “ of the heathen superstitions. The fame of de-
 “ ceased persons must have ages to grow up to
 “ heaven, and divine honours cannot be given
 “ with any shew of DECENCY, but by a late poste-
 “ rity^p.”

He says, *it is not likely they made Gods of men but just dead, of whose infirmities and imperfections many persons might be living witnesses.* How likely shall be considered presently; but that they did in fact do so, is too plain, methinks, to be denied. The learned Eusebius, a competent judge, (if ever there was any) of ancient fact, delivers it as a notorious truth, that in the early ages, those who excelled in wisdom, strength, or valour, who had eminently contributed to the common safety, or had greatly advanced the arts of life, were either deified during life, or immediately on their decease^q: This he had reason to believe, for he had good authority, the venerable history of Sancho-niathon the Phenician; which gives a very particular account of the origin of Hero-worship, and expressly says the deification was immediate:

^p Connect. vol. ii. p. 286, 287.

^q — τρίτοι δὲ ἄλλοι, σφᾶς αὐτὰς ἐπὶ γῆς εἰσαντες τὰς ἐπὶ συν-
 ἔσει τῶν κατ’ αὐτὰς προφέρειν νενομισμένους, ἢ καὶ ῥώμῃ σώματ’, καὶ
 δυναστείας ἰσχύει τῶν πλεόνων ἐπικρατήσαντας, γίγαντας τινάς, ἢ τυράν-
 νους, ἢ καὶ γόντας, καὶ φαρμακείας ἀνδρας, ἐκ τινῶ τῶς δειοτέρων ἀπο-
 πλώσεως, τὰς κακώχους γοητείας συνεσκευασμένους· ἢ καὶ τὰς ἄλλους
 κοινῆς τέ τινῶ καὶ βιωφελὲς εὐεργεσίας προάραντας, ζῶντας τε ἔτι καὶ
 μετὰ τελευτὴν Θεὸς ἐπεφήμισαν. *Præp. Evarg. lib. ii. cap. 5.*

And surely, when men were become so foolish as to make Gods of their fellow creatures, the *likeliest*, as well as most excusable season was, while the heat of gratitude, for new invented blessings, kept glowing in their hearts ; or at least, while the sense of those blessings was yet fresh and recent in their memories ; in a word, while they were warmed with that enthusiastic *love* and *admiration* which our great poet so sublimely describes :

“ ’Twas virtue only (or in Arts or Arms,
 “ Diffusing blessings, or averting harms)
 “ The same, which in a fire the sons obey’d,
 “ A prince, the father of a people made.
 “ On him their second providence they hung,
 “ Their law his eye, their oracle his tongue.
 “ He from the wond’ring furrow call’d the food ;
 “ Taught to command the fire, controul the
 “ flood,
 “ Draw forth the monsters of th’ abyfs profound,
 “ And fetch th’ aerial eagle to the ground ‘.

Was there any wonder in this, that he who taught mankind to subject all the elements to their use, should, by a rude admiring multitude, be adjudged a being of a superior order.

But they took the names of their first ancestors, whose fame had been growing up by the increase of tradition. Without doubt, the ancestors, men deified, and which, as being extreme early, may be called the *first*, had a very large and spreading reputation. But how was this procured but by an early apotheosis ? which, by making them the continual subject of hymns and panegyrics, preserved

Essay on Man, Ep. iii.

them

them from the oblivion of those unletter'd ages: And in fact, the fame of all, but those so deified, was very soon extinct and forgotten.

— *And all whose imperfections had been long buried, that it might be thought they never had any.* By this, one would be apt to think that the hero-Gods of Greece and Egypt, whose deification the learned writer would bring thus low, had nothing unseemly told of them in their Legends: Which, were it true, the argument would have some weight. But what school-boy has not read of the rogueries which the pagan worshipers have every where recorded of their Gods? Are not these a convincing proof of their deification by that very age which saw both their virtues and their vices; but, with the fondness of times newly obliged, saw nothing but in an honourable light^s; and so, unhappily canonized both the good and the bad together, and, in that condition, delivered them all down to posterity? Not that I suppose (for I have just shewn the contrary) that late poets and mythologists did not add to the tales of their forefathers. I can hardly believe Jupiter to have been guilty of all the adulteries told of him in Ovid: But this one may safely say, that unless he had been a famed Adulterer, in early tradition, his later worshipers had never dared to invent so many odious stories of the *Sire of gods and men*.

But, *it is hard to be conceived that they should have divine honours immediately paid them, because*

^s — Quæ ista justitia est, nobis succensere, quòd talia dicimus de diis eorum; & sibi non succensere, qui hæc in Theatris libentissimè spectant crimina deorum suorum? & quod esset incredibile, nisi contestatissime probaretur, hæc ipsa theatra crimina deorum suorum IN HONOREM INSTITUTA SUNT eorundem deorum. *August. de civit. Dei*, l. iv. c. 10.

their cotemporaries might have as fair a pretence, and come in competition with them. I understood that none were deified but those whose benefits to their fellow citizens, or to mankind at large, were very eminent; and that *all* with these pretensions were deified; so that I scarce know what to make of this observation.

— But *Alexander and Cæsar's apotheoses were scorned and laughed at*^t. And so they deserved. For if they, or their flatterers for them, would needs affect deification in a learned and enlightened age and place, no other could be expected from so absurd an attempt. But then those who knew better how to lay a religious project, found no impediment from their *nearness* to its execution. Thus *Odin*^u, about this very Cæsar's time, aspired to immediate worship amongst a rude and barbarous people, (the only scene for playing the farce with success) and had as good fortune in it, as either *Osiris, Jupiter, or Belus*.

— Nor could *Numa Pompilius* make *Romulus's* translation to heaven so firmly believed, as not to leave room for subsequent historians to report him killed by his subjects. Here the writer conscious that Antiquity opposed his hypothesis of the late deification of their early heroes, with many glaring

^t Plutarch uses this very argument against Euhemerus to prove that their country gods *never* were mortal Men. Περὶ ἸΣ. καὶ ΟΣ. p. 641.

^u *Odinus supremus est & antiquissimus Asarum, qui omnes res gubernat; atque etiamsi cæteri Dii potentes sint, omnes tamen ipsi inserviunt, ut patri liberi. — Cum Pompeius dux quidam Romanorum Orientem bellis infestaret, Odinus ex Asia huc in septentrionem fugiebat. Edda Snorronis apud Thom. Bartholin. de Antiq. Danic. p. 648 & 652.*

examples to the contrary, has thought fit to produce one ^x which he fancied he could deal with. *Romulus's translation was never so firmly believed but that* SUBSEQUENT HISTORIANS, &c. As if at all times speculative men did not see the origin of their best established hero-gods: As if we could forget, what the learned writer himself takes care

^x To this I shall be bold to add one or two more: For tho' Antiquity be full and clear in this matter, yet lest it should be said, that as the Greeks talk of things done long before their time, it might very well be that, for the credit of the God, tradition would pretend a very early deification, how short soever, in reality, of the age of the hero; lest this, I say, should be objected, I shall give an instance or two of the fact from contemporary evidence. God speaking by the Prophet to the king of Tyre says: *Thine heart is lifted up, and thou hast said, I am a God, I sit in the seat of God in the midst of the seas; yet thou art a man and not God. — Wilt thou yet say before him that slayeth thee, I am a God? but thou shalt be a man and no God, in the hand of him that slayeth thee,* EZEK. xxviii. 2—9. This I understand to denote a real worship paid to the living king of Tyre, by his idolatrous subjects: it is not unlikely but he afterwards became one of the greek *Neptunes*. The Rabbins seem to have understood the text in this sense, when, as Jerom observes, they made him to have lived a thousand years. For the Egyptians taught (whose ceremonial of the *apotheosis* was followed by the rest of the nations) that their first God-Kings reigned a thousand or twelve hundred years a-piece. *Μυθολογῶσι* (says Diodorus) *δὲ καὶ τῶν θεῶν τὰς ἀρχαιοτάτας βασιλεῦσαι πλείω τῶν χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων ἐτῶν.* — p. 15. We have already taken notice of Odin and his early consecration. But Tacitus assures us, it was a general custom amongst the northern barbarians to deify without loss of time: and this not in jest, like their cotemporary Romans. For speaking of the German nations he says: *Ea virgo [Velleda] nationis Bruēteræ late imperitabat: VETERE apud Germanos MORE, quo plerasque seminarum fatidicas & augeſcente ſuperſtitione, arbitrentur DEAS, lib. iv. hiſt.* And again of the ſame heroine: *Vidimus DIVO Veſpaſiano Velledam, diu apud pleroſque NUMINIS LOCO habitam. Sed & olim Auriniam, & complureis alias venerati ſunt, NON ADULATIONE NEC TANQUAM FACERENT DEAS.* Here the hiſtorian hints at the mock deifications in Rome, and inſinuates, that theſe in Germany were of another nature, and believed in good earneſt.

to tell us in this very place, that *Euhemerus Messenius* wrote a book to prove the ancient gods of the heathen world to have been only their ancient kings and commanders^y.

The fame of deceased persons (says he) *must have ages to grow up to heaven.*—*Must!* that is, in spite of a barbarous multitude, who would make Gods of them out of hand: in spite of ancient Story, which tells us plainly, they had their wicked wills.

—*And divine honours cannot be given with any shew of decency but by a late posterity.* It must be confessed, the Ancients observed much *decency* when, in the number of their greater Gods, they admitted ravishers, adulterers, pathics, vagabonds, thieves and murderers.

But now the learned writer, in toiling to bring hero-worship thus low, draws a heavier labour on himself; to invent some probable cause of the *apotheosis*: that warmth of gratitude for god-like benefits received, which ancient history had so satisfactorily assigned for the cause, being now quite out of date. For when gratitude is suffered to cool for many ages, there will want some very strong machine to draw these mortals up to heaven. However our author has supplied them with a most splendid vehicle. “Some ages after (says he) they descended to worship heroes or dead men.—The most celebrated deities they had of this sort were Cronus, Rhea, Osiris, Orus, Typhon, Isis, and Nepthe; and these persons were said to be deified upon an opinion that, at their

^y P. 288. See the first vol. of the *Div. Leg.* p. 94, &c.

“ deaths,

“ deaths, their souls migrated into some STAR,
 “ and became the animating spirit of some lumi-
 “ nous and heavenly body: This the Egyptian
 “ priests expressly asserted. — Let us now see when
 “ the Egyptians first consecrated these hero-gods,
 “ or deified mortals. To this I answer, Not be-
 “ fore they took notice of the appearances of the
 “ particular *stars* which they appropriated to them.
 “ Julius Cæsar was not canonized until the ap-
 “ pearance of the *Julium Sidus*, nor could the Phe-
 “ nicians have any notion of the divinity of Cro-
 “ nus until they made some observations of the
 “ *star*, which they imagined he was removed in-
 “ to^z.”

He says, *the Egyptian priests EXPRESSLY ASSE-
 TED that these persons were said to be deified upon
 an opinion that at their death their souls migrated
 into some star.* And for this he quotes a passage
 out of Plutarch's tract of *Isis and Osiris*; which I
 shall give the reader in Plutarch's own words,
 that he may judge for himself. Speaking of the
 tombs of the Gods, he says: *But the priests affirm
 not only of these, but of all the other Gods, of that
 tribe which were not unbegotten nor immortal, that
 their dead bodies are deposited amongst them and pre-
 served with great care, but that their souls illumi-
 nate the stars in heaven^a.* All here asserted is that
 the Egyptians thought the souls of their hero-
 gods had migrated into some star; but not the
 least intimation that *they were deified upon this*

^z *Connect.* vol. ii. p. 281, 282, 283.

^a Οὐ μόνον δὲ τῶν οἱ ἱερεῖς λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν, ὅσοι
 μὴ ἀγγένηται μηδὲ ἀφθαῖροι, τὰ μὲν σώματα παρ' αὐτοῖς κεῖσθαι κα-
 μόλαι καὶ διαφυλάττειν, τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς ἐν ἑρῶν λαμπρύνειν ἄστρα.
 pag. 640.

opinion of their migration. These are two very different things. The opinion of their migration might, for any thing said by Plutarch, be an after superstition; nay we shall make it very probable that it was so: for the *Connector* not resting on this authority, as indeed he had small reason, casts about for some plausible occasion, how men come to be deified upon so strange an opinion; and this he makes to be *their FIRST notice of the appearance of a particular star.* But how the new appearance of a star should make men suppose the soul of a dead ancestor was got into it, and so become a God, is as hard to conceive as how Tenterden steeple should be the cause of Goodwin-Sands. Indeed it was natural enough to imagine such an ἐπιφάνεια, when the cultivation of *judicial astrology* had aided a growing superstition to believe that their tutelary God had chosen the convenient residence of a culminating star, in order to shed his best influence on his own race or people. This seems to be the truth of the case: and this, I believe, was all the egyptian priests, in Plutarch, meant to say.

But from a *sufficient cause*, this *new appearance* is become (before the conclusion of the paragraph) the *only cause* of deification: *Julius Cæsar was not canonized until the appearance of the Julium Sidus: nor COULD the Phenicians have any notion of the divinity of Cronus until they made some observations of the star which they imagined he was removed into.* As to Cæsar's apotheosis it was a vile imitation of those viler flatteries of Alexander's successors in Greece and Egypt; and the julium sidus an incident of no other consequence than to save his Sycophants from blushing. But abandoned Courtiers and prostitute Senates never wait for the declaration of Heaven: and when the slaves of
Rome

Rome sent a second tribe of Monsters to replenish the Constellations, we find that Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, &c. who rose into Gods as they sunk below humanity, had no more Stars in their favour than Teague in the Committee. But of all cases, the Phenicians' seems the hardest; who with their infinite superstitions could yet have no notion of Cronus's divinity, 'till they had read his fortune in his Star. I am so utterly at a loss to know what this can mean, that I will only say, if the reader cannot see how they might come by this notion another way, then, either he has read, or I have written, a great deal to very little purpose.

VI. We come now to the last cause assigned by the Ancients for brute-worship, as we find it in EUSEBIUS^b; namely, That it was the invention of a certain king, for his private ends of policy, to establish in each city the exclusive worship of a different animal, in order to prevent confederacies and combinations against his Government. That an egyptian king did in fact contrive such a political institution one may safely allow, because, on this very supposition, it will appear that brute-worship had another and prior original. For it is not the way of Politicians to invent new Religions, but to turn those to advantage which they find already in use. The cunning, therefore, of this egyptian monarch consisted in founding a new institution of *intolerance*, upon an old established practice in each city of different *animal-worship*. But supposing this king of so peculiar a strain of policy that he would needs invent a new Religion; How happened it that he did not employ *hero-worship* to this purpose (so natural a superstition that it be-

^b See *Div. Leg.* vol. i. p. 284. 2^d. edit.

came universal) rather than the whimsical and monstrous practice of *brute-worship*, not symbolical? when direct hero-worship would have served his purpose so much better? Religious zeal for the exclusive honour of a dead citizen being likely to rise much higher than reverence to a compatriot animal. The only solution of the difficulty is this, Brute-worship being then the favourite superstition of the people, the politic monarch chose that for the foundation of his contrivance. So that we must needs conclude, this pretended cause to be as defective as the rest.

These were the reasons the Greek writers gave for *brute-worship* in general. But besides these, they invented a thousand fanciful causes of the worship of this or that animal in particular; which it would be to no purpose to recount.

On the whole, so little satisfaction did these writers afford to the learned Fourmont (who yet is for making something or other out of every rag of Antiquity, which he can pick up and new-line with an Etymology) that he frankly owns the true original of brute-worship is the most difficult thing imaginable to find out: *Si on nous demandoit* (says he) *de quel droit, tel ou tel dieu, avoit sous lui tel ou tel animal, pour certain, rien de plus difficile à deviner*^c.

However amidst this confusion, the Greeks, we see, were modest. They fairly gave us their opinions, but forged no histories to support them. The Arabian writers were of another cast; it was their way to free themselves from these per-

^c *Refl. Crit. sur les histoires des anciens peuples*, liv. ii. § 4.

plexities by telling a story: Thus Abennephi, being at a loss to account for the Egyptian worship of a fly, invents this formal tale, That the Egyptians being greatly infested with these insects, consulted the oracle, and were answered, that they must pay them divine honours. See then, says this dextrous writer, *the reason of our finding so many on the obelisks and pyramids.*

But of all the liberties taken with remote Antiquity, sure nothing ever equalled that of a late french writer, whose book, intituled, HISTOIRE DU CIEL, accidentally fell into my hands as this sheet was going to the press. Kircher, bewildered as he was, had yet some ground for his rambles. He fairly followed Antiquity: unluckily indeed, for him, it proved the *ignis fatuus* of Antiquity; so he was ridiculously misled. However he had enough of that fantastic light to secure his credit as a fair writer. But here is a man who regards Antiquity no more than if he thought it all imaginary, like his countryman, Hardouin. At least, he tells us in express words, that the study of the tedious and senseless writings of Herodotus, Plato, Diodorus, Plutarch, Porphyry, and such like, is all labour lost. The truth is, these volatile writers can neither rest in fact nor fable; but are in letters what Tacitus's Romans were in civil government, who could neither bear a perfect freedom, nor a thorough slavery^d. Only with this additional perversity, that when the inquiry is after Truth they betray a strange propensity to Fable; and when Fable is their professed subject, they have as untimely an appetite for Truth. Thus, in that

^d This shews why LOCKE is no favourite of our historian. J'ai lû le TRES-ENNUIEUX traité de LOCKE sur l'entendement humain, &c. Vol. i. p. 387, 388.

philosophical Romance called *La vie de Sethos*, we find a much juster account of old Egyptian wisdom than in all the pretended *Histoire de Ciel*. This Historian's System is, that all the civil and religious customs of Antiquity sprung up from AGRICULTURE; nay that the very Gods and Goddeses themselves were but a part of this all-bounteous harvest^c:

Nec ulla interea est inaratæ gratia terræ.

Now the two most certain facts in Antiquity are these, "That the idolatrous worship of the HEAVENLY BODIES arose from the visible influence they have on sublunary things;" and "That the country-gods of all the civilized nations were DEAD MEN, deified, whose benefits to their fellow-citizens, or to mankind at large, had procured them divine honours." Could the reader think either of these were likely to be denied by one who ever looked into an ancient book; much less by one who pretended to *interpret* Antiquity? But neither Gods nor Men can stand before a *system*. This great adventurer assures us that the whole is a delusion; that Antiquity knew nothing of the matter; that the *heavenly bodies* were not worshiped for their influences; that Osiris, Isis, Jupiter, Pluto, Neptune, Mercury, nay their very hero-gods, such as Hercules and Minos, were not *mortal men nor women*; nor indeed any thing but the letters of an ancient alphabet; the mere figures which composed the symbolic directions to the Egyptian husbandmen^f. And yet, after all

^c See p. 99, 315, & passim, vol. i. Ed. Par. 1739, 8vo.

^f This paradox, as we say, is advanced in defiance of Antiquity. The *Mysteries*, in their secret communications, taught that

all this, he has the modesty to talk of SYSTEMES
BIZARRES;

that ALL THE NATIONAL GODS WERE DEAD MEN DEIFIED. Of this we are assured by the express testimony of the most learned ancients, both gentile and christian; Cicero, Julius Firmicus, Plutarch, Eusebius, Clemens Alexandrinus, Cyprian, and St. Austin. See the first vol. of the *Div. Legation*. And will this author pretend to say, that the institutors of the *Mysteries* did not know the true original of their national Gods? But we have much more than their bare testimony; almost every rite in the ancient worship of these Gods declared them to be DEAD MORTALS: such as the solemn mournings and lamentations with which they began their celebrations; the custom of never coming to worship empty handed, but with a present, as was the eastern use when they approached their princes; the building sumptuous houses for their Gods, and setting meat before them for their refreshment; with a number of other domestic usages, too tedious to dwell upon. Thus the clearest facts and most creditable testimony concur to support this notorious truth; a truth, which they who most eagerly defended paganism, and they who most maliciously undermined it; as well the ministers of the *Mysteries*, as Euhemerus and his followers, equally allowed. On what then is this author's paradox supported? On the common foundation of most modern philologic systems, ETYMOLOGIES; which, like fungous excrescencies, spring up from old hebrew roots, mythologically cultivated. To be let into this new method of improving barren sense, we are to understand, that in the ancient oriental tongues the few *primitive* words must needs bear many different significations; and the numerous *derivatives* be infinitely equivocal. Hence any thing may be made of greek proper names, by turning them to oriental sounds, so as to suit every system past, present, and to come. To render this familiar to the reader by example: M. Pluche's system is, that the gentle Gods came from *Agriculture*: All he wants then, is to pick out (consonant to the greek proper names) hebrew words which signify a *plow*, *tillage*, or *ears of corn*; and so his business is done. Another comes, let it be Fourmont, and he brings news, that the Greek Gods were *Moses* or *Abraham*; and the same ductile sounds produce, from the same primitive words, a *chief*, a *leader*, or a *true believer*; and then, to use his words, *Nier qu'il s'agisse ici du seul Abraham, c'est être aveugle d'esprit & d'un aveuglement irremediable*. A third and fourth appear upon the scene, suppose them, Le Clerc and Bannier; who, prompted by the learned Bochart, say, that the Greek Gods were only *Phenician*

BIZARRES^g; and to place the *Newtonian system* in that number. It would be impertinent to ask this writer,

Phenician voyagers; and then, from the same ready sources, *flow navigation, ships, and negociators*. And when any one is at a loss in this game of crambo, which can never happen but by being duller than ordinary, the kindred dialects of the Chaldee and Arabic lie always ready to make up their deficiencies. To give an instance of all this in the case of poor distressed OSIRIS, whom hostile Critics have driven from his family and friends, and reduced to a mere vagabond upon earth. M. Pluche derives his name from *Ochofi-erets, domaine de la terre*; Mr. Fourmont from *Hofcheiri, habitant de Seir*, the dwelling of Esau, who is his Osiris; and Vossius from *Schicher* or *Sicr*, one of the scripture names for the Nile. I have heard of an old humourist, and a great dealer in etymologies, who boasted, *That he not only knew whence Words came, but whither they were going*. And indeed, on any system-maker's telling me his Scheme, I will undertake to shew *whither all his old words are going*: for in strict propriety of speech they cannot be said to be *coming from*, but *going to* some old Hebrew root.—There are certain follies (of which this seems to be in the number) whose ridicule strikes so strongly, that it is felt even by those who are most subject to commit them. Who that has read M. Huet's *Demonstratio Evangelica*, would have expected to see him satirise, with so much spirit, the very nonsense with which his own learned book abounds. Le veritable usage de la connoissance des langues étant perdu, l'abus y a succédé. On s'en est servi pour ETYMOLOGISER — on veut trouver dans l'Hebreu et ses dialectes la source de tous les mots et de toutes les langues, pour barbares et étranges qu'elles puissent être — Se presente-t-il un nom de quelque Roi d'Ecosse ou de Norvège, on se met aux champs avec ses conjectures; on en va chercher l'origine dans la Palestine. A-t-on de la peine à l'y rencontrer? On passe en Babylone. Ne s'y trouve-il point, l'Arabie n'est pas loin: et en un besoin même on pousseroit jusqu'en Ethiopie, plutôt que de se trouver court d'ETYMOLOGIES: et l'on bat tant de pais qu'il est impossible enfin qu'on ne trouve un mot qui ait quelque convenance de lettres et de son avec celui, dont on cherche l'origine. — Par cet art on trouve dans l'Hebreu ou ses dialectes, l'origine des noms du Roi Artur et tous les Chevaliers de la Table ronde; de Charlemagne, et des douze pairs de France; et même en un besoin de tous les Yncas du Perou. Par cet art, un Allemand que j'ai connu, provoito que

^g See p. 122. of his *Revision de l'histoire du Ciel*.

writer, where was his regard to Antiquity or to Truth, when we see he has so little for the public, as to be wanting even in that mere respect due to every reader of common apprehension? and yet this *System*, begot by a delirious imagination on the dream of a lethargic pedant, is to be called *interpreting Antiquity*^b. However, as it is a work of entertainment, where AGRICULTURE has the top part in the piece, and Antiquity is brought in only to decorate the scene, it should, methinks, be made as perfect as possible. Would it not therefore be a considerable improvement to it, if instead of saying the Egyptian husbandmen found their gods in the symbolic directions for their labour, the ingenious author would suppose that they turned them up alive as they ploughed their furrows, just as the Etruscans found their god Tagesⁱ: This would give his piece the *marvelous*, so necessary in works

Priam avoit été le même qu' Abraham; et Æneas le même que Jonas. — *Lettre au Bochart*. On such subjects as these, however, this trifling can do no great harm. But when, by a strange fatality of the times, it is transferred from matters of profane Antiquity, to such important questions as the redemption of mankind, and faith in the Messiah, we are ready to execrate a Cabalistic madness which exposes our holy religion to the scorn and derision of every unbeliever, whose bad principles have not yet deprived him of all remains of common sense.

^b S'il y a même quelque chose de solide & de suivi dans l'histoire que je vais donner de l'origine du ciel poétique, j'avoue que j'en suis redevable à l'explication ingénieuse, mais simple, par laquelle l'auteur des saturnelles [*Macrob. Saturn. lib. i. cap. 17.*] nous a éclairci l'origine du nom des ces deux signes. *Hist. du ciel. vol. i. c. 1.*

ⁱ Tages quidam dicitur in agro Tarquinienfi, cum terra araretur & sulcus altius esset impressus, extitisse repente, & eum adfatus esse qui arabat. Is autem Tages, ut in libris est Etruscorum, puerili specie dicitur visus, sed senili fuisse prudentia, &c. *Cic. de Div. lib. ii. cap. 23.*

of this nature, corrected too by the probable, that is, some kind of support from Antiquity, which it now totally wants. Besides, the moist glebe of Egypt, we know, when impregnated with a warm Sun, was of old famed for hatching men^k and monsters.

To return. From what hath been last said, we conclude, That the true original of *brute-worship* was the use of *symbolic writing*: and, consequently, that Symbols were extreme ancient; for brute-worship was national in the days of MOSES. But Symbols were invented for the repository of egyptian wisdom; therefore the Egyptians were very learned even from those early times: The point to be proved.

And now, had this long discourse on the *Egyptian Hieroglyphics* done nothing but afford me this auxiliary proof, which my argument does not want, I should certainly have made it shorter. But it is of much use besides, for attaining a true idea of the EASTERN ELOCUTION, (whose genius is greatly influenced by this kind of writing) and is therefore, I presume, no improper introduction to the present volume, whose subject is the religion and civil policy of the Hebrews. The excellent Mr. Mede pointed to this use: and the learned Mr. Daubuz endeavoured to prosecute his hint, at large; but falling into the visions of Kircher, he frustrated much of that service, which the application of hieroglyphic learning to scripture language would otherwise have afforded.

^k Δῆμον Ἐρηχθῆος μεγάλῃτορος, ὃν ποτ' Ἀθήνη
ἔρεψε, Διὸς θυγάτηρ, ΤΕΚΕ δὲ Ζεῖδωρος ΑΡΟΥΡΑ.

Il. ii. ver. 547.

A far-

A farther advantage may be derived from this long discourse: it may open our way to the true Egyptian Wisdom; which by reason of the general mistakes concerning the origin, use, and distinct species of Hieroglyphic writing, hath been hitherto stopped up. The subject now lies ready for any diligent enquirer; and to such an one, whose greater advantages of situation, learning, and abilities may make him more deserving of the public regard, I leave it to be pursued.

But whatever help this may afford us towards a better acquaintance with the ancient *Egyptian* Wisdom, yet, what is a greater advantage, it will very much assist us in the study of the *Grecian*; and, after so many instances given of this use, one might almost venture to recommend these two grand vehicles of Egyptian learning and religion, the MYSTERIES treated of in the former volume, and the HIEROGLYPHICS in the present, as the cardinal points on which the interpretation of GREEK ANTIQUITY should from henceforth turn.

S E C T. V.

THE course of my argument now brings me to examine a new hypothesis against the high antiquity of Egypt, which hath the incomparable Sir ISAAC NEWTON for its Patron: A man, for whose fame Science and Virtue seemed to be at strife. The prodigious discoveries he had made in the *natural* world, and especially that superiority of genius which opened the way to those discoveries, hath induced some of his countrymen to think him as intimate with the *moral*; and even to believe with a late ingenious commentator on his Optics, that as every thing which Midas touched, turned to gold,

so all that Newton handled, turned to demonstration.

But the sublimest understanding has its bounds, and, what is more to be lamented, the strongest mind has its foible. And this miracle of science, who disclosed all nature to our view, when he came to correct old time, in the chronology of Egypt, suffered himself to be seduced, by little lying greek mythologists and story tellers, from the *Goshen* of MOSES, into the thickest of the Egyptian darkness. So pestilent a mischief in the road to Truth is a favourite hypothesis: an evil, we have frequent occasion to lament, as it retards the progress of our enquiry at almost every step. For it is to be observed, that Sir Isaac's *Egyptian* chronology was fashioned only to support his *Grecian*; which he erected on one of those sublime conceptions peculiar to his amazing genius.

But it is not for the sake of any private System that I take upon me to consider the arguments of this illustrious man. The truth is, his discourse of *the empire of Egypt* contradicts every thing which MOSES and the PROPHETS have delivered concerning these ancient people. Though some therefore of his admirers may seem to think that no more harm can derive to religion by his contradicting the *History*, than by his overturning the *Astronomy*, of the Bible, yet I am of a different opinion; because, though the end of the sacred history was certainly not to instruct us in Astronomy, yet it was, without question, written to inform us of the various fortunes of the People of God; with whom, the history of Egypt was closely connected. I suspect therefore, that the espousing this hypothesis may be attended with very bad consequences in
our

our disputes with Infidelity. The present turn, indeed, of Free-thinking is to extol the high antiquity of Egypt, as an advantage to their cause; and consequently to urge Scripture, which bears full evidence to that antiquity, as a faithful relater of ancient facts; yet these advantages being chimerical, as soon as they are understood to be so, we shall see the contrary notion, of the low antiquity of Egypt, become the fashionable doctrine; and, what all good men will be sorry to find, the great name of NEWTON set against the BIBLE.

It is therefore, as I say, for the sake of Scripture, and from no foolish fondness for any private opinion, that I take upon me to examine the system of this incomparable person.

His whole argument for the low antiquity of Egypt may be summed up in this syllogism:

OSIRIS advanced Egypt from a state of barbarity to civil policy.

OSIRIS and SESOSTRIS were the same.

Therefore EGYPT was advanced from a state of barbarity to civil policy in the time of SESOSTRIS.

And to fix the time of Sesostris with precision, he endeavours to prove him to be the same with SESAC. But this latter identity not all affecting the present question, I shall have no occasion to consider it.

Now the *minor* in this syllogism being the questionable term, he has employed his whole dis-

course in its support. All then I have to do, is to shew that OSIRIS and SESOSTRIS were not one, but two persons, living in very distant ages.

And that none of the favourers of this system may have any pretence to say, that the great Author's reasonings are not fairly drawn out and enforced, I shall transcribe them just as I find them collected, methodized, and presented under one view by his learned and ingenious Apologist: — “ He
 “ [Sir Isaac Newton] has found it more easy to
 “ lower the pretensions of the Ancients than to
 “ conquer the prejudices of the Moderns. Many
 “ of his opinions, that are in truth well founded,
 “ pass for dreams, and in particular his arguments
 “ for settling the time of Sesostris, which the
 “ Greeks never knew, have been answered with
 “ scurrility. — I shall lay together here the evi-
 “ dences that have convinced me of the truth of
 “ his conclusion, because he has not any where col-
 “ lected all of them.

“ 1. That Osiris and Bacchus were the same,
 “ was generally agreed by the Greeks and Egyp-
 “ tians, and is therefore out of question; and that
 “ the great actions related of Sesostris are true of
 “ Sefac, and the difference between them is only
 “ nominal, is affirmed by Josephus.

“ 2. Osiris and Sesostris were both egyptian
 “ kings who conquered Ethiopia; and yet there
 “ never was but one egyptian king that was mas-
 “ ter of Ethiopia.

“ 3. Both were egyptian kings that with a pro-
 “ digious army and fleet invaded and subdued all
 “ Asia

“ Asia northward as far as Tanais, and eastward as
“ far as the Indian ocean.

“ 4. Both set up pillars in all their conquests,
“ signifying what sort of resistance the inhabitants
“ had made. Palestine, in particular, appears to
“ have made little or none, to them.

“ 5. Both past over the Hellespont into Europe,
“ met with strong opposition in Thrace, and were
“ there in great hazard of losing their army.

“ 6. Both had with them in their expeditions a
“ great number of foster brothers, who had been
“ all born on the same day, and bred up with
“ them.

“ 7. Both built or exceedingly embellished
“ Thebes in upper Egypt.

“ 8. Both changed the face of all Egypt, and
“ from an open country made it impracticable for
“ cavalry, by cutting navigable canals from the
“ Nile to all the cities.

“ 9. Both were in the utmost danger by the
“ conspiracy of a brother.

“ 10. Both made triumphant entries in chariots,
“ of which Osiris's is poetically represented to be
“ drawn by tigers; Sesostris's historically said to
“ be drawn by captive kings.

“ 11. Both reigned about twenty eight or thirty
“ years.

“ 12. Both had but one successor of their own
“ blood.

“ 13. Bacchus or Osiris was two generations before the Trojan war : Sesostris was two reigns before it. Again, Sefac’s invasion in Judæa in an. P. J. 3743, was about two hundred sixty years before the invasion of Egypt in his successor Sethon’s time by Sennacherib ; and from Sesostris to Sethon inclusively there are ten reigns, according to Herodotus, which, if twenty six years be allowed to a reign, make likewise two hundred and sixty years.

“ In so distant ages and countries it is not possible that any king, with many names, can be more clearly demonstrated to be one and the same person than all these circumstances and actions together do prove that Osiris and Bacchus, Sesostris and Sefac are but so many appellations of the same man : which being established, it will evidently follow, that the Argonautic expedition, the destruction of Troy, the revolution in Peloponnesus made by the Heraclidæ, &c. were in or very near the times in which Sir Isaac has ranged them¹.”

I. Before I proceed to an examination of these reasonings, it will be proper to premise something concerning the nature of the system, and the quality of the evidence.

1. We are to observe then, that this system is so far from serving for a support or illustration of the ancient story of these two heroes, that it contradicts and subverts all that is clear and certain in Antiquity ; and adds new confusion to all that was

¹ Mr. Mann’s ded. to his tract *of the true Years of the Birth and Death of CHRIST*.

obscure. The annals of Egypt, as may be seen by Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Plutarch, and others, who all copied from those annals, were as express and unvariable for the real diversity, the distinct personality of OSIRIS and SESOSTRIS, as the history of England is for that of any two of its own country Monarchs. For they were not vague names, of uncertain or adjoining times; one was the most illustrious of their DEMI-GODS, and the other of their KINGS; both fixed in their proper æras; and those vastly distant from one another. So that, I make no question, it had appeared as great a paradox, to an old Egyptian, to hear it affirmed that Osiris and Sesostris were but one, as it would be now to an Englishman to be told that Bonduca and the empress Matilda were the same. All Antiquity acquiesced in their diversity; nor did the most paradoxical writer, with which latter Greece was well stored, ever venture to contradict so well established a truth. And what wonder? The history of Egypt was not, like that of ancient Greece or Suevia, only to be picked up out of the traditional tales of Bards and Mythologists: nor yet, like that of early Britain, the invention of sedentary monks: It consisted of the written and authentic records of a learned and active Priesthood. In which, the only transgression, yet discovered, against truth, is that natural partiality common to all national historiographers, of extending back their annals to an unreasonable length of time. Let me add, that the distinct personality of these two men is so far from contradicting any other ancient history, that it entirely coincides with them. Nay, what is the surest mark of historic truth, there is, as perhaps we may take occasion to shew, very strong collateral evidence to evince the real diversity of these

these two ancient chiefs.—So far, as to the nature of the system,

2. The quality of the evidence is another legitimate prejudice against this *new chronology*. It is chiefly the fabulous history of Greece, as delivered by their Poets and Mythologists. This hath afforded a plausible support to Sir Isaac's hypothesis; by supplying him, in its genealogies of the Gods and Heroes, with a number of synchronisms to ascertain the identity in question. And yet, who has not heard of the desperate confusion in which the chronology of ancient Greece lies involved? Of all the prodigies of falshood in its mythologic story, nothing being so monstrous as its dismembred and ill-joined parts of Time. Notwithstanding this confusion, his proofs from their story, consisting only of scraps, picked up promiscuously from Mythologists, Poets, Scholiasts, &c. are argued from with so little hesitation, that a stranger would be apt to think the Fabulous ages were as well distinguished as those marked by the Olympiads. But the slender force of this evidence is still more weakened by this other circumstance, that almost all the passages brought from mythology to evince the *identity*, are contradicted (tho' the excellent person has not thought fit to take notice of it) by a vast number of other passages in the same mythology; nay even in the same authors; and entirely overthrown by writers of greater credit; the HISTORIANS of Greece and Egypt: which however, are the other part of Sir Isaac's evidence; of weight indeed to be attentively heard. But this he will not do; but, from their having given to Osiris and Sesostris the like actions, concludes the Actors to be one and the same, against all that those Historians themselves can say to the contrary: Yet what they

they *might*, and what they *could not* mistake in, was methinks easy enough to be distinguished. For as Fable unnaturally joins together later and former times; and ancient fable had increased that confusion, for reasons to be hereafter given: so History must needs abound with similar characters of men in public stations; and ancient history had greatly improved that likeness, thro' mistakes hereafter likewise to be accounted for. Indeed, were there no more remaining of Antiquity concerning Bacchus, Osiris, and Sesostris than what we find in Sir Isaac's book, we might perhaps be induced to believe them the Same; but as things stand in History, this can never be supposed.

What I would infer therefore, from these observations, is this:—We have, in the distinct personality of Osiris and Sesostris, an historical circumstance, delivered in the most authentic and unvariable manner, and by annalists of the best authority. All succeeding ages agreed in their diversity; and it is supported by very strong collateral evidence. At length a modern writer, of great name, thinks fit to bring the whole in question. And how does he proceed? Not by accounting for the rise and progress of what he must needs esteem the most inveterate error that ever was: but by laying together a number of circumstances, from ancient story, to prove the actions of Osiris and Sesostris to be greatly alike; and a number of circumstances from ancient fable, to prove that the Gods, whom he supposes to be the same with Osiris, were about the age of Sesostris. So that all the evidence brought by this illustrious writer amounting, at most, but to difficulties against the best established fact of history; if we can, consistently with the distinct personality and different ages of these two heroes, fairly

fairly account for the similar actions recorded of them; and for the low age, as delivered by the mythologists, of those grecian Gods which are supposed to be the egyptian Osiris; if, I say, this can be done, the reader is desired to observe, that all is done that can reasonably be required for the confutation of Sir Isaac Newton's hypothesis, and for reinstating the ancient history of their distinct personality in its former credit.

But I shall do more; 1. I shall shew from the religious constitutions of Greece and Egypt, that the incidental errors which the Ancients fell into, concerning these two heroes, (of which errors our author has taken the advantage, to run them into one) were such as hardly any circumspection could avoid.

2. And still further, that the identity of Osiris and Sesostris, in its necessary consequences, contradicts SCRIPTURE, and the NATURE OF THINGS.

II. I proceed then to a particular examination of this famous proof of the identity, as it is collected and digested by the learned Master of the Charter-house.

The first observation I shall make upon it is, that, by the same way of arguing, one might incorporate almost any two HEROES, one meets with, in early and remote history. For as our great english poet well observes,

“ HEROES ARE MUCH THE SAME, the point's agreed,

“ From Macedonia's madman to the Swede;

“ The

“ The whole strange purpose of their lives, to find,
 “ Or make an enemy of all mankind.

To shew the reader how easily this feat may be performed, I will take any two of our own Monarchs, that come first into my thoughts,—KING ARTHUR, for instance, and WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR. And now let him only imagine, when arts and empire have learnt to travel further West, and have left Great Britain in the present condition of Egypt, some future Chronologer of America, labouring to prove these Heroes one and the same, only under two different names, by such kind of Arguments as this :

1. ARTHUR and WILLIAM were both great warriors.

2. Both were of spurious or uncertain birth.

3. Both were in the management of public affairs in their early youth.

4. Both came from France to recover Britain from the Saxons.

5. Both proved victorious in their expedition.

6. Both got the crown of Britain by election, and not by descent.

7. Both had other dominions, besides Britain, to which they succeeded by right hereditary.

8. Both went frequently on military expeditions into France.

9. Both

9. Both warred there with various success.

10. Both had half brothers, by the mother, who, being made very powerful, and proving guilty of manifold extortions and acts of injustice, were punished by them, in an exemplary manner.

11. Both had rebellious sons or nephews, whom they met in the field, fought with in person, and subdued.

12. Both reigned upwards of fifty years.

13. And both died in War.

When our Chronologer had been thus successful with his argument from similar circumstances, (as in the case of Osiris and Sesostris) it is odds but he would go on; and to settle a chronology which made for some other hypothesis he had in view, he would next attempt to prove, from *similitude of names*, as before from *similitude of actions*, that WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR and WILLIAM THE THIRD, another Conqueror, were but one and the same, (as in the case of Sesostris and Sefac.)

Here the number of similar circumstances, in the lives of Arthur and William, are, evidently, more characteristic of ONE, than those in the history of Osiris and Sesostris. Yet we know that Arthur and William were really two different men of two very distant ages. This will shew the critics the true value of this kind of evidence; and should reasonably dispose them to much caution in building upon it.

II.

But it will be said, that the nature of the conformity between Osiris and Sesostris is, in some respects, very different from that between Arthur and William. I grant it is so; and, from those respects, shall now shew, how the mistaken indentivity of Osiris and Sesostris may be certainly detected. For I go on, and say, though from this instance it be seen, that a greater agreement might well happen in the lives of two ancient Heroes, than can be found in those of Osiris and Sesostris, while their distinct personality was acknowledged to be very certain and real; yet, in their case, it must be owned, that there are peculiar and specific circumstances of similitude, which could not arise from that general conformity between the actions of two men of the same quality and character; but must be allowed to have had their birth from some fancied identity. For several of the actions, given to both, agree only to the time of one: I mean as Antiquity hath fixed their times. Thus, the vast conquests over Asia agree well with the time of Sesostris, but very ill with the time of Osiris: and, again, the invention of the most common arts of life, agree very well with the time of Osiris, but very ill with that of Sesostris. However, from this conformity in their story, Sir Isaac concludes Osiris and Sesostris to be the same. And so far we must needs confess, that it seems to have arisen from some kind of identity; a sameness of person, or a sameness of name. This great writer contends for the first; but as the first contradicts and subverts all Antiquity, if the ascribed conformity of actions can be well accounted for from their *identity of name*, and that indentivity be proved very probable from ancient story, the reader will conclude that
the

the fabulous conformity had its rise from thence; and, consequently, that all Sir Isaac's arguments for their *identity of person* make directly against him. For if the conformity arose from *identity of name*, they were two persons. I shall endeavour to shew all this in as few words as I am able.

I. It was an old Egyptian custom, as we learn from Diodorus Siculus, to call their later Heroes by the name of their earlier Gods. This historian having spoken of the CELESTIAL Gods, according to the Egyptians, adds, *They held, that besides these, there were other EARTHLY Gods, born mortal; who, through their wisdom, and common benefits to mankind, had acquired immortality; that some of these had been kings of Egypt; and that part got NEW NAMES, being called after those of the celestial Gods; and part kept their own^m.* But this custom of calling the later Heroes after the names of their earlier Gods, was not peculiar to Egypt. Scripture informs us, that the Assyrians did the same. And the practice must needs have been general. For, as we have shewn, the original use of it was to support nascent hero-worshipⁿ. But there was another cause, more peculiar to early Egypt; and that was the doctrine of *transmigration*. For it being thought that the same soul passed successively into many human bodies; when they saw an eminent Character strongly resembling some ancient Hero, they were inclined to fancy it the old

^m — "Αλλες δ' ἐκ τῶτων ἐπὶ γαίης γενέσθαι φασὶν, ὑπάρχοντες μὲν θνητοί, διὰ δὲ σύνεσιν καὶ κοινὴν ἀνθρώπων εὐεργεσίαν τελευτηκότας τῆς ἀθανασίας. ὧν ἐνί τις καὶ βασιλεὺς γεγονέναι κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, μεθερμηνευομένων δ' αὐτῶν, τινὰς μὲν ὁμωνύμους ὑπάρχειν τοῖς ἑρῶσι, τινὰς δ' ἰδίαν ἐσχηκέναι προσήγορίαν—l. i. p. 8. Steph. ed.

ⁿ See Div. Leg. vol. i. b. iii. f. 6.

busy soul, which had taken up its residence in a new habitation: and therefore very equitably honoured the present Hero with the *name* of the past. This reason, Tacitus tells us, the Egyptians gave for the great number of HERCULES's — “ *Quem* “ *[Herculem] indigenæ [Ægyptii] ortum apud se &* “ *antiquissimum perhibent, eosque qui postea pari vir-* “ *tute fuerint, in cognomentum ejus adscitos.*” This was so notorious that Sir Isaac could not help owning, it was their way to give one common name to several men. Nay even the least corporeal resemblance was sometimes sufficient to set this superstition on work, and produce the effect in question; as we find from the same Diodorus's account of the Grecian Bacchus. He tells us, that when Cadmus the Egyptian was come into Greece, and his daughter Semele had a spurious son dying in his infancy, whose person resembled the images of Osiris, the grandfather, after having consulted the Oracle, (whose approbation was contained in the advice, *to observe the customs of his fathers*) called him Bacchus, one of the names of Osiris; paid divine honours to the embalmed carcase; and proclaimed abroad, that OSIRIS had chosen to come once more amongst men under this infantine appearance^p. From this custom of giving the names

^o *Annal.* l. ii. c. 60. — Omnes, qui fecerant fortiter, HERCULES vocabantur, says Varro likewise (as quoted by Servius.)

^p Κάδμους ἐκ Θηβῶν ὄντα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, γενῆσαι σὺν ἄλλοις τέκνοις καὶ Σεμέλῃ· ταύτην δὲ ὑπὸ τῷ δήπῳ φθαρεῖσαν, ἔκκυον γενέσθαι, καὶ τεκεῖν ἐπὶ μηνῶν διελθόντων βρέφους τὴν ὕψιν οἷον πέρ οἱ κατ' Αἰγύπτου τὸν Ὅσιριν γενέσθαι νομίζουσι· ζωογονεῖσθαι δ' ἔκ εἰωθένας τὸ ταῖς τοῦ αἵτε τῶν θεῶν μὴ βυλομένων, εἴτε τῆς φύσεως μὴ συγκωρύξης. Κάδμους δὲ αἰσθόμενον τὸ γεγονός, καὶ χρησμὸν ἔχοντα διαλεγεῖν τὰ τῶν πατέρων νόμιμα χρυσώσασθαι τε τὸ βρέφος καὶ τὰς καθηκίσας αὐτῷ ποιήσασθαι θυσίας, ὡς ἐπιφανείας τινὲς κατ' ἀνθρώπους Ὅσιριδος γεγεννημένης. lib. i. p. 14.

of celebrated personages of high antiquity to later men, who resembled them in qualities either of mind or body, it was, that they not only, out of honour to Sesostris, called him Osiris, but, out of contempt and hatred, gave MOSES the name of TYPHON, as appears from some later accounts of this Typhon, when they had now jumbled Moses and him into one; as they had done their Bacchus's, Hercules's, and Minos's; and as they were very near doing, by Osiris and Sesostris. The accounts, I mean, are those which we find in Plutarch, of Typhon's flying seven days, and begetting, after his escape, two sons, JERUSALEM and JUDÆUS⁹. And further that this Typhon was the son of Isaac, and of the race of Hercules^r.

Causes like these could not fail to make this custom very durable, amongst a people not at all given to change. And in fact, we find it continued even to the time of Cleopatra, who affected to be called the NEW ISIS^s, as her brother was called the NEW BACCHUS^t. At length it became so general as to have no measure but the fancy of every particular. For Lucian, defending the excessive compliments he had given to one Panthea, whose form he had compared to the images of the Goddesses, justifies himself by examples; and amongst the rest, by that of Egypt; *I shall not insist* (says he) *upon the practice of the Egyptians, who, though they be the most religious of all people, yet*

⁹ — ἐπὶ ὅντι τῷ Τυφῶνι τὴν Φυγὴν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας γενέσθαι, καὶ σωθέντα γενῆσαι παῖδας Ἱεροσόλυμον καὶ Ἰουδαῖον. *Is. Osir.*

^r Ἰσραηλὶτὴς τὸ Ἡρακλῆος ὁ Τυφῶν.

^s *Plut. in Ant.*

^t *Diod. Sic. l. i.*

employ the names of their Gods even to satiety and disgust^u.

To apply this practice to the case of the Heroes in question. Osiris was the great Lawgiver of the Egyptians; and the Founder of their Monarchy. Sesostris vastly extended and enobled their Empire; and was, at the same time, author of many beneficial institutions. Now if ever an occasion greater than ordinary presented itself, of putting in practice the custom of honouring later Heroes with the name of the more early, it was here, where the resemblance was so remarkably strong. And if what Clemens Alexandrinus says be true, that Sesostris sprung from Osiris^x, there was still a farther occasion of giving the later Hero the name of his first progenitor. However, that it was given him is highly reasonable to suppose. And this supposition will clearly account for all that ingrafted likeness from which Sir Isaac hath inferred their *identity*.

For when now they had given to both, the same name; not distinguished, as were their Thothes or Hermes's^y, (another famous instance of this general custom) by the addition of *first* and *second*, Posterity would frequently confound them with one another; and, in this confusion, inadvertently

^u 'Εὖ γὰρ τῆς Αἰγυπλίας, οἵπερ καὶ δεισιδαίμονες αἰοί εἰσι πάντων, ὅμως τοῖς θείοις ὀνόμασιν εἰς κόρον ἐπιχρωμένους. *Pro Imag. in fin.*

^x — Τὸν ἔν' Ὀσίριν, τὸν προπάτορα τὸν αὐτῷ δαιδαλθῆναι ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸς [Σέσωστριν] πολυτελῶς. *Admon. ad Gentes*, p. 31.

^y The histories of the first and second Hermes are as much confounded with one another as those of Osiris and Sesostris; and from the same cause; yet, I imagine, the distinction of *first* and *second* will hinder any one from supposing them to be the same.

give the actions of Osiris to Sesostris, and of Sesostris to Osiris. But taking nothing from either, both their histories would soon become the same. And as, in this mutual transferring of one another's actions, several were given to both, entirely discordant to either's age, we are enabled to discover the true cause of this conformity; and thereby to prove, that that, which it is plainly seen might be, really was, the *cause*.

I. Thus Osiris (because Sesostris was so) is made a great conqueror, at a time when Egypt was but just emerging from a state of barbarism, into civil policy; and long before several of those nations, he was said to conquer, had a being. But this seems to be one of the latest corruptions in their history. Herodotus giving none of these conquests to Osiris, but to Sesostris only: whence I collect, it was the product of some age between him and Diodorus Siculus, who gives them to Osiris with all their circumstances, and supported by the evidence of pretended ancient monuments^z. It appears too, to have been a Grecian addition, and at a time when it was the fashion to make their fables, systematical^a. For we are told^b, (and the tale was

^z The columns at Nyfa in Arabia.

^a Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, εὐφύια πάντας ὑπερβαλλόμενοι, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα πλεῖστα ἐξιδιώσαντο, καὶ τοῖς προκοσμήμασι ποικίλως ἐξείραγμῶδησαν, ταῖς τῶν μύθων ἡδοναῖς, δέλγειν ἐπινοῶντες παντοίως ἐποίκιλλον. *Philo. Bib. apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. i. c. 10.*

^b — Τὸν δ' ἔν Ὀσίριν φασὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀιγυπτίον κατασῆσαντα, καὶ τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἡγεμονίαν Ἰσιδι τῇ γυναικὶ παραδόντα, ταύτῃ μὲν παρακαταστήσαι σύμβουλον τὸν Ερμῆν, — καὶ στρατηγὸν μὲν ἀπολιπεῖν ἀπάσης τῆς ὑφ' αὐτὸν χώρας Ἡρακλέα — ἐπιμελητὰς δὲ τάξαι τῶν μὲν πρὸς Φοινίκη κεκλιμένων μερῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ τόπων Βασίριν. — εἶναι γὰρ τὸν Ὀσίριν φιλογέλῳτα, καὶ χαίροντα μουσικῇ καὶ χοροῖς.

was apparently framed for no other end than to connect this God with the rest of the College) that, when Osiris made this expedition, he took Silenus with him as his Governor; that he appointed Isis, Queen-regent in his absence; and Hermes her Privy-counsellor; Hercules he made General of his army, and Neptune, admiral of his fleet. And, that nothing might be wanting to compleat the cortege, he took with him a company of dancers and singers; amongst which were nine lively girls more particularly eminent; with the king's brother, as master of the maids, at their head; and these truly were to pass for Apollo and the nine Muses. This quaint improvement on an Egyptian blunder, by some driveling greek mythologist^c, as rank as it is, is one of the chief circumstances on which our illustrious author hath thought fit to support his *Chronology*. And that which is the mere representation of an old raree-show of the *Court of king Osiris*, brought by some stroler out of Egypt into Greece, is made an authentic record to ascertain the true age of all their Heroes. I am fully supported in the conjecture, that the tale of Osiris's conquests was invented in some age between Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, by the testimony of two of the soberest and most accurate of the Greek writers, Strabo and Arrian; who expressly tell us, that the stories of Bacchus's and Hercules's exploits in the Indies were invented

ροῖς. διὸ καὶ περιάγεσθαι πλῆθος μυσθεγῶν, ἐν οἷς παρθένους ἐννέα δυναμένας ᾄδειν, καὶ κατὰ τὰ ἄλλα πεπαιδευμένας, τὰς παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ὀνομαζομένας Μῦσας, τέτων δ' ἡγεῖσθαι τὸν Απόλλωνα λέγουσιν, ἀφ' ἧ καὶ Μυσηγέτην αὐτὸν ὀνομάσθαι. l. i. p. 10, 11.

^c The very learned Casaubon, speaking of the fables, which concern Bacchus with the Nymphs and Muses, says, *Est enim Græcanicæ vanitatis hoc quoque inventum, Bacchicas in majus semper attollentium*. De Satyrica Poesi, p. 41.

by the Macedonians to aggrandize the glory of Alexander^d. The Egyptians had prepared the materials, and made them fit for use, by confounding Osiris and Sesostris, under the common name of Bacchus.

2. On the other hand, Sesostris (because Osiris was so) is made the inventor of arts, and the civilizer of a rude and barbarous people, to whom he delivered the first rudiments of Policy and Religion, many ages after they had erected a flourishing and powerful Empire. An inconsistency so glaring, that the ancient critics seeing these things recorded of Sesostris, reasonably understood Osiris to be meant. This doubtless made Aristotle say^e that Sesostris was many ages before Minos: yet Eusebius places Minos in the times of the *Judges*. And in the twelfth dynasty of Africanus, Sesostris is made to reign, according to the calculation of Scaliger^f, in the 1392 year of the Julian period; that very point of time on which the extravagant chronology of Egypt had thrown Osiris. But there is a passage in Ælian which proves still more expressly that the Ancients sometimes understood Osiris by Sesostris. *The Egyptians* (says this historian) *affirm that Mercury taught Sesostris his laws*^g; and that Mercury the

^d Arrian, l. v. c. 3. Strabo, l. ii. p. 771. and l. xv. p. 1006—7. Casaub. ed. Καὶ τὰ περὶ Ἡρακλέους δὲ καὶ Διούσης, Μεγασθένης μὲν μετ' ὀλίγων πιστὰ ἡγεῖται, τῶν δ' ἄλλων οἱ ὧλεῖας, ὧν ἔστι καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης, ἅπιστα καὶ μυθώδη, καθάπερ καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν. Strab. l. xv.

^e Πολὺ γὰρ ὑπερβίνει τοῖς χρόνοις τὴν Μίνω βασιλείαν ἡ Σεσώστρις. Pol. l. vii. c. 10.

^f Vide Marsham Can. Chron. Secul. X. tit. Nilus Rex.

^g Φασὶν Αἰγύπτιοι Σέσωστριν παρ' Ἑρμῆ τὰ νόμιμα ἐκμασθῆναι. Var. Hist. l. xii. c. 4.

contemporary of Osiris was here meant, is seen by another passage of this historian, where the same thing is said of all the Egyptians in general. *The Egyptians boast that MERCURY taught them their laws^h.*

But though mistake gave birth to this corruption in the Egyptian history, yet, without doubt, it was a national vanity which supported it. For we are told by Diodorusⁱ, who made collections from their history, that the reason, assigned by the Egyptians for that famous military expedition, which they had transferred from Sesostris to Osiris, was the Hero's beneficent purpose of carrying the new inventions of corn and wine to all the savage inhabitants of the earth; whom it was his purpose to reduce from a state of Nature, to Political society. The intelligent reader sees plainly, that the design of this story was to do honour to Egypt, as the common benefactress of mankind. Though I will not deny, that the extravagance of the conceit, at the same time, shews how much they were at a loss for a reasonable cause of so early an expedition. The difficulty of all this did not escape the Sicilian. He frankly owns, there is a vast discordancy and confusion in the accounts of Isis and Osiris^k. What seems strange to me is, that this did not lead him to the cause here explained, when

^h Αἰγυπιοὶ φασὶ παρ' Ἑρμῆ τὰ νόμιμα ἐκμεσσωθῆναι. lib. xiv. c. 34.

ⁱ Τὸν δὲ Ὅσιριν λέγουσιν, ὥσπερ ἐνεργητικὸν ὄντα καὶ φιλόδοξον, στρατόπεδον μέγα συστήσασθαι, διανούμενον ἐπελθεῖν ἀπασαν τὴν οἰκωμένην, καὶ διδάξαι τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν τε τῆς ἀμπέλης φύλειαν καὶ τὸν σπόρον τῆς τε πυρίνης καὶ κριθίνης καρπῶ. l. i. p. 10.

^k Καθόλου δὲ πολλή τις ἐστὶ διαφωνία περὶ τέτων τῶν θεῶν. l. i. p. 15.

he had so well unraveled the like confusion in the parallel case of Hercules and Alcæus. Their story had been disordered, like this of Osiris and Sesostris, from Alcæus's taking the name of Hercules. But Diodorus, by the same kind of reasoning¹ I have here employed to ascertain the diversity of Osiris and Sesostris, shews that Alcæus and Hercules were different men; namely, from actions, given to Alcæus, which could not belong to his age. But these being of different nations, the one a Greek, the other an Egyptian; this circumstance afforded him an opening which he wanted in the case of Osiris and Sesostris, who were both Egyptians.

And here let me observe, that this ancient practice of calling later heroes by the name of earlier, whether of their own or of foreign countries, brought still greater confusion into some other of their histories; making the Ancients themselves imagine an *identity* where none was; as in Bacchus,

¹ Ὁμολογούμενος γὰρ ὅτι παρὰ πάντων ὅτι τοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις θεοῖς Ἡρακλῆς συνηγωνίσαστο τὸν πρὸς τῆς γίγαντος πόλεμον, φασὶ τῇ γῇ μηδαμῶς ἀρμόττειν γεγεννηκέναι τῆς γίγαντος κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν. ἣν οἱ Ἕλληνες φασὶν Ἡρακλέα γενέσθαι, γενεᾷ πρότερον τῶν Τρωϊκῶν· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γένεσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀπ' ἐκείνης μὲν γὰρ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ἔτη καταριθμῆσθαι πλείω τῶν μυρίων, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ἐλάττω τῶν χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων, ὁμοίως δὲ τὸ, τε ξόπαλον καὶ τὴν λεοντὴν τῷ παλαιῷ πρέπειν Ἡρακλεῖ, διὰ τὸ ταῖς ἐκείνης τῆς χρόνης μήπω τῶν ὅπλων εὐρημένων, τῆς ἀνθρώπου τοῖς μὲν ξύλοις ἀμύνεσθαι τῆς ἀντιλαττομένης, ταῖς δὲ δοραῖς τῶν θηρίων σκεπαστηρίοις χρῆσθαι — συμφωνεῖν δὲ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν λεγομένοις καὶ τὴν παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων παραδεδομένην φήμην, ὅτι καθαρὰν τὴν γῆν τῶν θηρίων ἐποίησεν Ἡρακλῆς. ὅπερ μηδαμῶς ἀρμόττει τῷ γεγονότι σχεδὸν κατὰ τῆς Τρωϊκῆς χρόνης, ὅτε τὰ πλεῖστα μέρη τῆς οἰκισμένης ἐξημέρωτο γεωργίαις καὶ πόλεσι, καὶ πλῆθει τῶν κατοικησάντων τὴν χώραν πανταχῶς. μᾶλλον ἢν πρέπειν τῷ γεγονότι κατὰ τῆς ἀρχαίας χρόνης τὴν ἡμέρωσιν τῆς χώρας, κατισχυομένων ἔτι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπὸ τῇ πλῆθει τῶν θηρίων καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὴν Αἰγύπτου εἰς τὴν ὑπερκειμένην χώραν μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἔρημον ἔσαν καὶ θηριώδη. lib. i. p. 14, 15.

Neptune, Hercules, Mars, Venus, Minos, &c. which popular mistakes Sir Isaac employs to support another imaginary identity that they never dreamt of.

From this state of Antiquity I would infer these two things. First, that, notwithstanding the conformity in the histories of Osiris and Sesostris, there is great reason to suppose the reality of their distinct personalities, because the same kind of similitude, arising from the same mistake, is found in the histories of many other ancient heroes confessedly distinct. Secondly, that there must have been, in Antiquity, some very convincing proofs of the real diversity of Osiris and Sesostris, to keep them, as it did, perpetually separate, notwithstanding the sameness in their histories; when the like kind of conformity had melted two or more Bacchus's, Hercules's, Minos's, into one.

On the whole then, I have shewn, that a *sameness of name* is sufficient to account for the original of the conformity in the history of Osiris and Sesostris; and, having done this, I have done all that is needful to ascertain their *diversity of person*: there being nothing to oppose to the full testimony of ancient history, which declares for their diversity, besides this conformity of actions.

But I have done more: I have shewn, that a *sameness of name* was, in fact, the only cause of that conformity; and, consequently, that their persons were really different. That it could be only a *sameness of name*, I think, appears evidently from the giving to each hero, actions unsuitable to his age; as great conquests to Osiris, and civil inventions to Sesostris. For I persuade myself,
(though

(though Sir Isaac be obliged, for the sake of his hypothesis, partly to support, and partly to palliate, this convincing circumstance) no one can, in good earnest, believe that Egypt was indeed, emerging from a state of barbarism at the time in which he places Sesostris. 'Tis true, if men will yet suppose so, I have no better argument against it than the BIBLE: and how far the credit of that will go in this enlightened age is not very easy to guess. In a word, such unsuitable actions ascribed to each, nothing can account for, but a mistaken identity, arising from the *sameness of name*; for when this had advanced, or brought down, the real antiquity of either, the historian was to suit their actions to the imaginary time. Besides, we know they are not at all scrupulous about property, when they find an atchievement in their way, capable of doing honour to a favourite Hero. There is, as might be expected, a pregnant instance of this, in the history of this very Sesostris; of whom it was recorded, that he divided the lands of Egypt amongst the People, reserving an annual rent to the Crown^m. Now we are very certain that this was done, long before his time, under the ministry of the Patriarch Joseph. Here the theft lies open. While these Heroes were only made to pilfer from one another, there was some difficulty to get them convicted; as where two cheats are taught to convey their stolen goods into one another's hands, to evade a pursuit: but here an honest man steps in to make good his claim, and proves it beyond all exception.

^m — Κατανεῖμαι δὲ τὴν χώραν Αἰγυπτίοισι ἅπασι τῶτον ἔλεγον τὸν βασιλέα [Σέσωστριν] κλήρον ἴσον ἑκάστῳ τετραγώνῳ δίδουσα. καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τὰς προσόδους ποιήσασθαι, ἐπιτάξαι ἀποφορὴν ἀπολελέειν καὶ ἐνιαυτόν. Herod. l. ii. c. 109.

But

But it is our business only to shew that the conformity, in the histories of Osiris and Sesostris, may be well accounted for, from a *sameness of name*. Otherwise, if the case required it, we should not want positive arguments, supported by the soundest part of Antiquity, to prove their difference of person. To mention one or two only by the way; it has been observed beforeⁿ, that, in substituting *Hero*, to *Planet-worship*, the Egyptian rulers, in order to bring the people more easily into this later species of idolatry, called the *Hero* by the name of a *Celestial God*. So Diodorus says, *that Sol first reigned in Egypt; called so from the Luminary of that name in the heavens*. This was the easier brought about, because the first Civilizers, to gain the greater authority, pretended, as was very natural, to be the Offspring of the SUN, that universal God of all the uncivilized people upon earth. For the same end likewise, namely to accustom the people, even while in the practice of Planet-worship, to the new adoration, they turned the compliment the other way; and called the Luminary by the name of the Hero; the same historian telling us that *they called the Sun, Osiris, and the Moon, Isis*. Now the end of this mutual transferring of *names* being only to strengthen their *new* idolatry by giving it a support from the *old*, it must needs be invented on the first introduction of hero-worship. But hero-worship was as early as the first institution of civil policy. Therefore the using the name of Osiris to this purpose, is a demonstration that he was as early as sober Antiquity supposed. Again, Herodotus tells us, and of his own knowledge, that no Gods, besides Isis and Osiris, were worshiped by all the

ⁿ See *Div. Leg.* vol. i. p. 467. & *seq.*

Egyptians in the same unvariable manner°. This I think a plain proof of their being the common benefactors of all Egypt, in the invention of corn, wine, and civil policy, as the Egyptian annals deliver; their other Hero-Gods, as particular and partial benefactors, being worshiped variously. But this fixes them in their high Antiquity. Again, the calf and ox are owned to be the peculiar symbols of Osiris: but the GOLDEN CALF I have proved to be an Egyptian symbol; therefore Osiris, was, at least, as old as MOSES. And again, our great Author owns^p, that the king who invented agriculture in Egypt, seems to have been worshiped by his subjects in the ox or calf for this benefaction. Now the ox or calf was the symbol of Osiris. But agriculture, we certainly know, was invented before the time of Joseph, which will bring us to seek for Osiris 700 years higher than Sefac, who is our author's ancient Osiris or Sesostris of Egypt.

To proceed: Such were the blunders in the history of Osiris and Sesostris^q, of which Sir Isaac hath

° Θεὸς γὰρ δὴ ὃ τὰς αὐτὰς ἀπαντὲς ὁμοίως Αἰγυπτῖοι σέβονται, πλὴν Ἰσιός τε καὶ Ὀσίριδος. τὸν δὴ Διόνυσον εἶναι λέγουσι. τὰς δὲ ὁμοίως ἀπαντὲς σέβονται, l. ii. c. 42.

^p As Sir Isaac's own words seem so much to shake his system, I shall quote them at length. *The lower part of Egypt being yearly overflowed by the Nile, was scarce inhabited before the invention of corn, which made it useful: and the king, who by this invention first peopled it and reigned over it, perhaps the king of the city Mesir, where Memphis was afterwards built, seems to have been worshiped by his subjects after death, in the ox or calf for this benefaction, p. 197, 198.*

^q I apprehend such mistakes were pretty general in the traditional accounts of nations, concerning their early times.

hath taken advantage, to prove them to be one and the same. And it is certain, as was said before, that, had not the sure records of Antiquity kept them separate, this jumbling of their actions into one another's life had long ago incorporated them; and left no room for Sir Isaac's discovery: for the Ancients were fond of running many into one, as appears particularly in the case of Bacchus, whose history we come now to consider.

II. For Sir Isaac farther strengthens the evidence of their identity from Egyptian History, with the Grecian Mythology: in which BACCHUS is delivered to us as the same with Osiris: and Bacchus being but two generations earlier than the Trojan war, the very age of Sesostris, this, in his opinion, reduces all three to one*.

This identity of Bacchus and Osiris, Diodorus Siculus has very accurately confuted†. But to discover the general cause of this, and all other their mistaken identities, we must trace down the religion of GREECE from its original.

It is a certain truth, agreed upon by ancient as well as modern writers, that CIVILIZED GREECE received its religion from EGYPT. But the way in which this commerce was carried on is not so

Garcillasso's history of the YNCAS affords us just such another instance. " Ils pretendent (says the french translator) qu'un
 " de leur Rois fût un grand *Legislateur*. Ils disent de plus,
 " qu'il fût un excellent capitaine, qui *conquit un grand nombre*
 " *de Provinces & de Royaumes*. Mais pour le tirer de ce Laby-
 " rinte, ils attribuent au premier Ynca tous ces choses, tant pour ce
 " qui est de leurs Loix, que du fondement de leur Empire."
 Vol. i. p. 150.

* Page 191.

† Lib. i. p. 14.

well understood. It is generally supposed to have been done by adopting, and worshiping the very Egyptian Gods themselves. But this is a capital mistake. It was not till long after their first acquaintance with Egypt, and instruction in their religious Rites, that they adopted Egyptian Gods: which I shall now endeavour to shew.

In the barbarous ages of Greece, their only Gods were those natural Divinities, the heavenly Luminaries^t. But, on their first commerce with Egypt for the arts of policy, they found there a new species of idolatry, the worship of DEAD MEN; which civilized Egypt had invented; and which, as they improved in policy, had almost worked out their first natural Deities; the same with those of all other uncivilized nations^u. This new species, the Greeks eagerly embraced: and beginning now to take the Egyptian nation for their model in religious as well as in civil matters, they brought home this mode of foreign worship, namely, DEAD MEN DEIFIED. Thus far is agreed on all hands. The material question is, whether their object were Egyptian hero-gods; or whether, in imitation of that worship, they made hero-gods of their own? The common opinion is that they took the Egyptian. I suppose, on the contrary, that they must needs make hero-gods of their own; and could not, at that time, receive the other. My reason is this:

The greater celestial bodies were Deities in common, as their influence sensibly extended over the whole habitable globe. But hero-worship introduced the new idea of *local tutelary Deities*: and

^t See *Div. Leg.* vol. i. p. 466.

^u *Id. ib.*

this of necessity. For those Heroes were the distinguished benefactors of their own nation, at the expence, frequently, of their neighbours: and, for such benefits, they were deified. Now several causes concurred to make men teach and think, that the care and providence of their Heroes, now become Gods, was still, as in life, confined to their own dear Country: Such as the superior reverence which rulers knew the People would pay to a God, whose Peculiar they were supposed to be: for, when undistracted with other cares, he would be supposed at full liberty to attend to the minutest concerns of his own People: Such again, as the selfishness and pride of the worshipers, who would be for ingrossing a God to themselves; and raising honour to their Country from this imaginary property. So that the opinion of *local tutelary Deities*, became, at length one of the most general and most undisputed doctrines of Paganism. It is delivered to us, for such, by Plato: yet, as the origin of hero gods from humanity was to be kept out of sight, he carefully disguises the foundation of it. *The Gods* (says he) *formerly divided the whole earth amongst themselves by lot: not from any contention or quarrel about their rights; for it is absurd to suppose they did not know what was fit for every one's peculiar care; or knowing this, that they should endeavour by violence to possess themselves of one another's property: but all of them receiving in an amicable manner, what fell to their share^x, in this just method of distribution, each resided on his own peculiar:*

^x Τα φίλων λα[χαίροντες] — Serr. translates it — *deorum quisque prout hominum amore teneretur*. I understand it — *hæc amicorum sortiti* — i. e. regions which belonged to gods who were in unity with one another.

which,

which, having rendered proper for our habitation, they lead and support us as shepherds do their flocks and herds in a pasture.—Every God therefore having his proper allotment, all his endeavours are employed to adorn and benefit his own^y. This was so flattering a notion, that, in after times, the Pagans carried it even into their Planet-worship: and each climate was supposed to be under the proper protection of its own Star or Constellation. So that the writer of *The wisdom of Solomon* seems to make this the distinguishing mark of Paganism; where praising the God of Israel for his ancient mercies to that people, he says, *neither is there any God but thou, that carest for ALL*^z.

Now, such a kind of *tutelary* God, the Egyptians would be so far from offering to others, that they would be careful to keep him to themselves. Hence the old practice of chaining down their Gods (for hero-gods were worshiped by statues in human form) when they imagined them disposed to ramble; or to take a liking to any of their neighbours. And as the Egyptians would be averse to lending, so the Greeks would be as little inclined to borrow; for they had now a race of Heroes of their own; those godlike men, who had reduced them from a savage to a civilized condition, and had given them this very appetite; the appetite to im-

^y Θεοὶ γὰρ ἅπασαν γῆν ποτὲ καὶ τὰς τόπους διελάσχανον, ἔ κατ' ἕριν (ἔ γὰρ αὖ ὀρθὸν ἔχοι λόγον, θεὸς αἰνοεῖν τὰ πρέποντα ἐκάστοις αὐτῶν, ἔδ' αὖ γινώσκοντας τὸ μᾶλλον ἄλλοις προσῆκον, τῷτο ἑτέρως αὐτοῖς δι' ἐρίδων ἐπιχειρεῖν κλεῖσθαι) δίκης δὲ κλήροις τὰ φίλων λασχάνοντες καὶ ὠκίζον τὰς χώρας· καὶ καλοικίσαντες, οἷον νομεῖς κλήματα καὶ ποίμναι καὶ θρέμματα ἐαυτῶν ἡμᾶς ἔτρεφον. — ἄλλοι μὲν ἔν κατ' ἄλλης τόπῳ κληροχῆσαντες θεῶν ἐκεῖνα ἐκόσμων. Vol. iii. p. 109. Ser. Ed.

^z Cap. xii. 13. Οὔτε γὰρ θεός ἐστι πλὴν σὺ, ὃ μέλει περὶ πάντων, ἵνα δείξῃς ὅτι ἐκ ἀδίκως ἐκρίνας.

prove their policy by the assistance of Egyptian wisdom. As little too would their own Lawgivers, who brought that wisdom home to them, be disposed to offer them Egyptian Gods; as knowing how much stronger their reverence and adherence would be to Gods made out of their own parents and fellow-citizens. But if this were the case, (and, in the course of the inquiry, it will be proved from *fact*, as here from the *reason* of the thing) it may be asked, What then was that RELIGION which all agree the Greeks borrowed of the Egyptians? I answer, the TRADE itself of Hero-worship; or the custom of deifying their dead benefactors. But again, if this were so, and that the Bacchus, Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, &c. first worshiped by the Greeks, were indeed Grecian Deities, it will be then asked, how came their resemblance to the Egyptian to be so great, as that later times should be generally deceived in thinking them the SAME? This is a reasonable question, and will deserve a particular discussion. There were several causes of this resemblance.

1. Nothing could be more simple than the RITUAL of the first *Planet-worship*, as may be easily collected from the nature of that idolatry. But *Hero-worship* necessarily introduced a great number of complex Ceremonies. For, the commemorating the peculiar benefits received from the Hero-god, in his state of humanity, would occasion many *specific* Rites: and the shadowing or concealing his original and especially the blemishes in his moral character would necessitate the use of *allegorical*. And what this last sort of Rites did not sufficiently cover, the notion propagated amongst his worshipers (on which was founded the rationale of their worship) was made to supply, viz. That the

DEMONS or *Heros* had, like *men*, their inordinate virtues, passions and appetites. Plutarch in his tract *Of the ceasing of the oracles* has a remarkable passage to this purpose. “There are in demons, as in men, a disparity in their virtues; and, like as in the latter a mixture of passion and imperfection. Of which, in some, we find only the faint and obscure traces yet remain, as the dregs of evanid matter; in others the vestiges are much stronger, and indeed, indelible: and of this, we have certain marks and tokens dispersed up and down, and preserved in the sacrifices, in the mysteries, and in the ancient mythologic tales^a.” In like manner, the general memory of the Hero’s descent from mortals, gave rise to the consultation of ORACLES and adoration of STATUES in HUMAN FORM. Now, when Greece borrowed of Egypt the superstition of Hero-worship, they would of course borrow such of the Rites and practices as were peculiar to that superstition; and adapt them to their own Hero-gods, as best suited every one’s character. For the truth of which we have the express testimony of Herodotus, who tells us, that *the Egyptians were the first authors of religious festivals, processions, and offerings; and that the Greeks learnt them of that people*^b. But this resemblance, even without a studious application of Egyptian rites, must have arisen, from the very practice itself of Hero-worship; as appears from what we have observed of the nature of those

^a Εἰσὶ γὰρ ὡς ἐν ἀνθρώποις καὶ Δαίμοσιν ἀρετῆς διαφοραὶ, καὶ τῷ παθητικῷ καὶ ἀλόγῳ, τοῖς μὲν ἀσθενὲς καὶ ἀμαυρὸν ἔστι λείψανον, ὥσπερ περιττωμα· τοῖς δὲ πολὺ καὶ δυσκατάσβεστον ἔνεστιν, ὧν ἵχνη καὶ σύμβολα πολλαχῶς θυσίαι καὶ τελεταὶ καὶ μυθολογίαι σώζονται καὶ διαφυλάττουσιν ἐνδεδεσπαρμένα.

^b — Πανηγυρίας δὲ ἄρα καὶ πομπαὶς καὶ προσελαῶγας πρῶτοι ἀνθρώπων Αἰγυπτίοι εἰσι οἱ ποιησάμενοι· καὶ παρὰ τούτων Ἕλληνες μεμαθήκασι. l. ii. c. 58.

ceremonies which Hero-worship necessarily introduced. To confirm this, we need only consider the case of those hero-worshippers of the north and west, the Gauls and Suevi; who did not, like the Greeks, borrow this mode of idolatry from Egypt; being indebted for it to nothing but the corruption of our common nature. Now the Gods of those Barbarians, and the Rites with which their Gods were adored, resembled the religion of Greece and Rome so exactly, that these polite nations thought the Gods of the Gauls and Suevi were the same with their own; only worshiped under different names^c. This was indeed a gross mistake;

^c Julius Cæsar had so little doubt of this matter, that speaking of the Gauls, he says, *Deum maxime Mercurium colunt — Post hunc, Apollinem & Martem & Jovem & Minervam. De his eandem ferè, quam reliquæ gentes, habent opinionem.* De Bell. Gall. l. vi. sect. 15. The reason he gives, is that the several Gods of Gaul had attributes correspondent to those of Greece and Rome. Hence he, and most other writers concluded them to be the same. So Tacitus observes of the Germans that they worshiped Mercury, Hercules, and Mars, *deorum maxime Mercurium colunt — Herculem ac Martem concessis animalibus placant.* [*De mor. Ger. c. ix.*] and speaking of the *Æstii*, a nation of the Suevians, he says, they worshiped the *mother of the Gods*. — *Ergo jam dextro Suevici maris littore Æstiorum gentes adluuntur: quibus ritus habitusque Suevorum, lingua Britannicæ propior. Matrem Deum venerantur.* [c. 45.] But this *Mother of the Gods* was, as we learn from the ancient northern Chronicles, an idol peculiar to those people, called *Sollotta Babba*, or *the golden woman*. Yet as she most resembled the *Mother of the Gods*, she is called so by Tacitus without any hesitation: who yet, in another place, speaking of the worship paid to Castor and Pollux amongst this people, gives us to understand by his expression that no more was meant than that the Germans had a couple of Gods whose attributes and relation to one another bore a resemblance to the Greek and Roman *Dioscuri*. “*Præsidet sacerdos muliebri ornatu, sed* “*Deos, interpretatione Romana, Castorem Pollucemque me-* “*morant.*” [c. 43.] But what greatly confirms our opinion is, that, when these people were converted from Paganism, to the

take; but natural to fall into: So great a resemblance have Heroes of all times and places ever born

Christian faith, their Convertists, who had the best opportunities and fittest occasion to enquire thoroughly into the state of their superstition, found neither Greek nor Roman Gods amongst them; but Idols of their own growth only. And though, indeed, the vulgar herd of Antiquarians, misled by the Classic writers, are wont to speak after them, in this matter, yet the most learned investigators of the history of this people expressly affirm the contrary. Of whom I need only mention the celebrated Saxo Grammaticus, who says, “Eos qui a nostris
“colebantur non esse quos Romanorum vetustissimi Jovem
“Mercuriumque dixere, vel quibus Græci Latiumque plenum
“superstitionis obsequium exsolverunt, ex ipsa liquidò feri-
“rum appellatione colligitur.” *Hist. Dan.* l. vi. But Tacitus has recorded a circumstance which fully evinces the mistake of this supposed identity. For when he had told us that the Germans worshiped Mercury, Hercules, Mars, &c. he immediately adds that they did not worship their Gods in Temples, nor under a Human figure. *Ceterum nec cohibere parietibus deos, neque in ullam humani oris speciem assimilare ex magnitudine cœlestium arbitrantur.* [c. ix.] I quote the words for the *fact*. The *reason* seems to be a conjecture of his own. Now if the Germans had borrowed their Mercury, Hercules, and Mars from Greece and Rome, they probably would have worshiped them in Temples; most certainly, under a Human form. And, what is strangest of all, Tacitus himself afterwards, in the case of the Naharvali, seems to be sensible of this; for having told us that they worshiped two young Brother-Gods, which the Romans conjectured to be Castor and Pollux, he makes the following observation as seeming to dissent from them. *Nulla simulacra, nullum peregrinæ superstitionis vestigium.* c. xliii.

A celebrated French author, M. Freret, has borrowed and adopted this system. He holds with me, that the Gods of these barbarians were not the same with the Greek and Roman Gods; and that the mistake arose from the resemblance between their attributes, which he shews, in the manner I have done, (and I suppose from the observations I had made) must needs be alike. “Chaque Dieu dans toute religion
“Polytheïste avoit son district, ses occupations, son caractère,
“&c. Le partage avoit été réglé sur les passions & sur les
“besoins des hommes: & comme leurs passions & leurs besoins
“sont les mêmes par tout, les départemens des Dieux barbares
“avoient

born to one another; whether they were lawgivers, warriors, navigators, merchants, or artists. Nor was their common rise from humanity, and their occupations in social life, the only cause of this resemblance. There was another; viz. their several departments after they were become Gods: some presiding over the elements, as earth, air, or water; others over the passions and pursuits of men, as love, war, trade, and the like. To this common resemblance it was that at length almost every nation

“avoient nécessairement du rapport avec ceux des divinités de
 “la Grèce. Il falloit par tout une intelligence qui gouvernât
 “le ciel, & qui lançât le tonnerre. Il en falloit d’autres pour
 “gouverner les élémens, pour présider à la guerre, au com-
 “merce, à la paix, &c. La conformité des emplois entraînoit
 “une ressemblance d’attributs: & c’étoit sur ce fondement,
 “que les Grecs & les Romains donnoient les noms de leurs
 “Dieux aux divinités des Barbares.”—*Voiez M. de la Bleterie,*
ses remarques sur la Germanie de Tacit. p. 135.

In conclusion; the learned reader will remark, that this is a species of that general *conformity* which I had observed is commonly ascribed to *imitation*, when in truth its source is in our common nature, and the similar circumstances in which the partakers of it are generally found. Here, again I have the pleasure of finding this M. Freret agree with me in this general principle, as before in the particular system of polytheism here advanced. “Il seroit utile, dit M. Freret, de rassembler les conformités
 “qui se trouvent entre des nations qu’on fait n’avoir jamais
 “eu de commerce ensemble. Ces exemples pourroient rendre
 “les critiques un peu moins hardis à supposer qu’une nation
 “a emprunté certains opinions & certains coutumes d’une autre
 “nation, dont elle étoit séparée par une très-grande distance,
 “& avec qui l’on ne voit point qu’elle ait jamais eu la moindre
 “communication.” See *M. de la Bleterie*, p. 168. and compare it with what I had said many years before at the end of the last section of this 4th book. When I reflect upon the honours of this kind, which several writers of this *humane* nation have done me in silence, it puts me in mind of what Muret says of Macrobius on the like occasion, — *ut appareat eum facitasse eandem artem, quam plerique hoc sæculo faciunt, qui ita humani a se nihil alienum putant, ut alienis æquè utantur ac suis.*

pretended, (as we see by Diodorus) that the Gods came originally from them. Now if the Gods of these Barbarians, though different in name, were for this resemblance, mistaken for the Gods of another people, with whom they had no commerce; where was the wonder that the Grecian Gods, who had the same name with those of a people with whom Greece held a perpetual commerce, should for the like resemblance, be believed to be originally Egyptian?

2. For, secondly, when the Greeks borrowed Egyptian Rites to enrich the worship of their Gods, they borrowed Egyptian NAMES of honour, to adorn their persons. Thus, for instance, the name of Bacchus, one of the appellations of Osiris, was given to the son of Semele. Herodotus tells us, that these *names* they did certainly borrow; and, we see by his account, that this was all which, in his time, was pretended to be borrowed^d. This observing historian, in his account of the Pelasgi, further confirms this truth, by a very curious piece of history. “ In former times, (says he) the Pelasgi in their religious worship used to sacrifice of every thing without distinction, to their Gods, as I was informed by the priests at Dodona. They gave neither *name* nor *surname* to any of their Gods: for they had heard of no such practice. But their titles were taken from what their worshipers conceived of their providence, direct-

^d Σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ πάντα τὰ ΟΥΝΟΜΑΤΑ τῶν Θεῶν ΕΞ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΥ ἐλήλυθε εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, διότι μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων ἤκει πυνθανόμενον ἔγω εὐρίσκω εἶναι. δοκέω δ' ὦν μάλιστα ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπὶχθαι. ὅ, τι γὰρ δὴ μὴ Περσείδων, καὶ Διοσκέρων (ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι ταῦτα εἰρηλατῆσαι καὶ Ἡρῆς, καὶ Ἰσίδος, καὶ Θέμιδος, καὶ Χαρίτων, καὶ Νηρηίδων, τῶν ἄλλων Θεῶν, Αἰγυπτίοισι αἰεὶ κολεῖται ἑνομασίᾳ ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ. λέγω δὲ τὰ λεγόμενα αὐτοῖς Αἰγύπτιοι. l. ii. c. 50.

“ ing and ordering all things fitly and harmoniously.
 “ But after a long course of time they heard
 “ of other Gods, and of their NAMES, which came
 “ from EGYPT, and in the last place of the name
 “ of BACCHUS. Some time after they consulted the
 “ Oracle of Dodona concerning these NAMES: for
 “ this Oracle is supposed to be the oldest of any in
 “ Greece; and, at the time I am speaking of,
 “ the only one. Of this Oracle therefore having
 “ asked advice, whether they should admit the
 “ NAMES, which came from the Barbarians, into
 “ their religion; they received for answer, that
 “ they should admit them. From that time^e there-

^e It is remarkable, that though Herodotus tells us, these Pelasgians, before their knowledge or admission of the *Egyptian names*, sacrificed to their Gods, [Ἔθνον δὲ πάντα πρότερον οἶδε Πελασγοί] yet when they had admitted these *names*, he gives the matter of sacrificing as one change which this admission had introduced; *from that time*, says he, *they sacrificed*, [ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ τότε τῷ χρόνῳ ἔθνον.] A passage in Julius Cæsar will explain this difficulty: After he had given an account of the Gods of the Gauls, who, living under a civil Policy, worshiped Hero-gods; he goes on to those of the uncivilized Germans, which, he tells us, were only the celestial Luminaries and Elements. *Deorum numero eos solos ducunt, quos cernunt, & quorum opibus apertè juvantur; Solem & Vulcanum & Lunam. Reliquos ne fama quidem acceperunt.* De Bel. Gal. l. vi. sect. 19. The very Gods, as we observed, of all the uncivilized idolaters upon earth. Now of these Barbarians he adds, *Neque Druides habent, qui rebus divinis præsent; neque SACRIFICIIS STUDENT.* They were not nice and exact in the matter of *sacrificing*: and no wonder, for he tell us, they had no Priests. Now Herodotus, speaking of his barbarians, informs us of the same thing, though in other words, and on a different occasion. *They sacrificed*, says he, *every thing without distinction*; this was the *neque sacrificiis student* of Cæsar. But when they came to use the *names* of the Egyptian Gods, then ἔθνον, *they sacrificed*, i. e. made a *study* of it, had a large Ritual concerning it, and no longer sacrificed without distinction. For these *names* being expressive of each God's peculiar nature, qualities, and dispositions, soon introduced a distinction of sacrifices, according to the imaginary agreement or disagreement between the *subject* and the *object*.

“ fore they sacrificed with specific multifarious
 “ Rites, in which they honoured their Gods with
 “ these new *appellations*. And, from the Pelasgi,
 “ the Greeks afterwards took up the custom.
 “ But the original of each God, and whether they
 “ are all from eternity, and what are their several
 “ kinds of natures, to say the truth, they neither
 “ knew at that time, nor since. For HOMER and
 “ HESIOD—were those who made a Theogony for
 “ the Greeks; gave SURNAMES to the Gods; ad-
 “ justed their various and specific Rites and Attri-
 “ butes; and designed and delineated their several
 “ forms and figures^f.”

From this remarkable passage we may deduce the following facts; which, besides the evidence to the matter in question, are very corroborative of our general explanation of Antiquity. 1. It appears from hence, that the Greeks borrowed the *names* of the Egyptian Gods^g, to decorate their own;

^f “Εθνον δὲ πάντα πρότερον οἱ Πελασγοὶ θεοῖσι ἐπευχόμενοι· ὡς εἶω ἐν Δωδώνῃ οἶδα ἀκέσας· ἐπωνυμίην δ’ εὖ ἔνομα ἐποιεῦντο ἑδενὶ αὐτέων· ἢ γὰρ ἀκηκόεσαν κω. θεῶς δὲ προσωνόμασάν σφεας ἀπὸ τῆ τοιαύτης, ὅτι κόσμῳ θέντες τὰ πάντα πρῆγματα καὶ πάσας νομάς εἶχον· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ χρόνῳ πολλῷ διεξεληθόντες, ἐπύθοντο ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἀπικό- μενα τὰ ἑνόματα τῶν θεῶν τῶν ἄλλων, Διόνυσον δὲ ὕπερον πολλῶ ἐπύθοντο. καὶ μετὰ χρόνον ἐχρηστειάζοντο περὶ τῶν ἑνομάτων ἐν Δωδώνῃ· τὸ γὰρ δὴ μαντήϊον τῷτο γενόμενον ἀρχαιοτάτου τῶν ἐν Ἑλλήσι χρηστειῶν εἶναι· καὶ ἦν τὸν χρόνον τῷτον μῦθον· ἐπεὶ ὧν ἐχρηστειάζοντο ἐν τῇ Δωδώνῃ οἱ Πελασγοὶ εἰ ἀνέλωνται τὰ ἑνόματα τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἦκοντα. ἀνεῖλε τὸ μαντήϊον χρᾶσθαι. ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ τῆς τῆς χρόνῳ ἔθνον, τοῖσι ἑνόμασι τῶν θεῶν χρῶμενοι, παρὰ δὲ Πελασγῶν Ἕλληνες ἐξεδέξαντο ὕπερον. Ἐνθεν δὲ ἐγένετο ἕκαστος τῶν θεῶν, εἴτε δ’ αὖτις ἦσαν πάντες ὁμοῖοί τε τινες τὰ εἶδεα, ἢ καὶ ἠπίστεατο μέχρι ἢ πρὶν τε καὶ χθές, ὡς εἰπεῖν λόγῳ· Ἡσίοδον γὰρ καὶ Ὀμηρον—ἔτοι δὲ εἰσι οἱ ποιήσαντες, θεογονίην Ἑλλήσι καὶ θεοῖσι τὰς τοῖσι ἐπωνυμίας δόντες, καὶ τιμὰς τε καὶ τέχνας διελόντες, καὶ εἶδεα αὐτῶν σημηνάντες. l. ii. c. 52—53.

^g This communication of names, (from whence the men we are arguing against, inferred, that the Grecian Gods were originally

own; receiving them, as Herodotus here supposes, by the hands of the Pelasgians. 2. That they received *nothing but the names*. 3. That the humour of these ancient inhabitants of Greece was so far from disposing them to take Egyptian, or Stranger-Gods, that they would not so much as venture on their *names* till they had consulted the Oracle. 4. That the *Religion of names* came in with Hero-worship or local tutelary Deities; (to which species of Gods *names* were an honorary attribution) and unknown to the worshipers of the *natural Divinities*, as the Pelasgians and all other uncivilized people. 5. That this *Religion of names* was a thing of much consequence in the Egyptian superstition, and even characteristic of it; which the reader is desired to observe as of use to explain some passages in the next section, concerning the propensity of the Israelites to that superstition. 6. That one cause of that ignorance, which, Herodotus here tells us, the Greeks ever laboured under, concerning the original, nature, and species of their Gods, and which, as now appears we had not unjustly charged upon them, when we ventured to say the same in several parts of this work, one cause, I say, was, that those *names* which the Pelasgians had applied to their new Hero-Gods, the Greeks, their successors,

ginally Egyptian) made another party, such as Bochart, Huet, and Fourmont, conclude they were originally Jewish. Thus the last of these writers in one place says, *Par tout ce discours il est clair, que les Romains, les Grecs, les Phrygiens, les Thraces, les Getes, les autres Scythes, & en general tous les peuples Guerriers ont adoré MARS sans le connoître, & que c' étoit un Dieu originellement Phenicien, comme les autres grands Dieux.* [Refl. Crit. vol. i. p. 103.] And in another place, *Mais en voilà assez sur ce Dieu ou Heros, qui, comme l'on voit, avoit été fort illustre SANS ETRE CONNU.* [p. 156.] For, according to these Critics, a pagan Hero was never *known* till his pedigree had been traced up into the Holy family.

took

took and transferred to theirs. 7. And lastly, (which supports the general argument we are now upon) the true sense of the concluding words, which has hitherto been grossly mistaken, lies open to us.—*For* (says Herodotus) *Homer and Hesiod—were those who made a Theogony for the Greeks; gave surnames to the Gods; adjusted their various and specific attributes, and rites of worship; and designed and delineated their several forms and figures.* What hath been commonly understood by these words is, that in Herodotus's opinion, the Greeks knew little or nothing of what we call their classical Gods, till Homer and Hesiod taught them how they were to be marshalled, and had assigned their several departments. A sense not only confuted by the poems of those two writers, who relate what they saw ESTABLISHED in their own times, but contradicted by what went just before, where the historian tells us that *Melampus* (whom Homer himself places three generations before the Trojan war) *first taught the Greeks the name, the rites, and the mysteries of Bacchus*^h; the God last received (if we may believe the same historian) after the *Religion of names* was come in fashion. And we have no reason to doubt his evidence, when we see the several parts of it so well coincide: for if Melampus first taught the Greeks the worship of Bacchus, this God must needs be the last received by them. But indeed, the whole context excludes the common interpretation, and directs us to one, very different. The Pelasgians (we are told) received the RELIGION OF NAMES from the Barbarians [i. e. the Egyptians] by which, the Gods

^h — "Ἡδὲ αὖ δοκέει μοι Μελάμπας ὁ Ἀμφύειον τῆς θυσίης ταύτης εἶναι ἀδελφὴν, ἀλλ' ἔμπειρον, Ἑλλήσι γὰρ δὴ Μελάμπας ἐστὶ ὁ ἐξηγησάμενος τῇ Διονύσει, τότε ἔνομα, καὶ τὴν θυσίην, καὶ τὴν πομπὴν τῇ φαλλῷ. c. 49.

were divided into their several classes. This new doctrine, the Pelasgians conveyed down to the Greeks. *But* (says the historian) *the original of each God, and whether they are all from eternity, and what their several kinds and natures are, to say the truth, they neither knew at that time, nor since.* He then immediately subjoins the reason of their ignorance — *FOR Homer and Hesiod — were those who made a Theogony for the Greeks; gave SURNAMES to the Gods; adjusted their various and specific rites and attributes; and designed and delineated their several forms and figures:* and a convincing reason it is; for Homer's and Hesiod's being the popular and only authoris'd books of Theology amongst the Greeks, which assign the *names*, the *attributes*, and the *form* to each God, and their accounts being, at the same time, over-run with fables and fictions, it was impossible even for the Greeks themselves to develop the confusion, and emancipate themselves from that ignorance here complained of, namely, of the *true natures of their Gods*: which indeed, their Teachers seem to have known as little of as themselves. For Homer when he speaks of Jupiter, sometimes represents him as a God *from eternity*, at other times as only the head of the college of their terrestrial Deities. This, then was what Herodotus meant to say; who is not speaking of the INVENTIONS of Homer and Hesiod; but of their AUTHORITY. Whether they were the first who propagated or delivered these things was not the matter in question. Had it been so, we know how Herodotus would have decided; who, in this very place, expressly tells us, who were the FIRST; namely the Pelasgians; who delivered them to the Greeks; where Homer and Hesiod found them. However, on the common interpretation, gross as it is, Sir Isaac Newton builds

builds one of his strongest arguments in favour of his *new Chronology*. To proceed,

3. The Greeks not only borrowed the NAMES, but likewise the SYMBOLS of the Egyptian Gods; and fitted them to their own. A very natural superstition, as appears by the practice of the Hebrews in the wilderness; who, in the absence of Moses, running back into Egyptian idolatry, would needs worship the God of their Fathers under an *Egyptian Symbol*; and with *Egyptian Rites* likewise, *and the people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play*. Now had God, on this occasion, persisted in the severity of his justice, where he tells Moses, that he would indeed give them the land of Canaan, and drive out the inhabitants before them, because he had promised Abraham so to do, yet that he would not honour them, as a select People, with his peculiar protection: Had, I say, God thus cast them off, and the people departed with their new Leader, the GOLDEN CALF, into Canaan; and there made it the visible representative of the God of their Fathers, and worshiped it with Egyptian Rites; who can doubt but that the late posterity of this people, thus abandoned by God, and given up *to make and believe a lye*, would have supposed that their Forefathers had worshiped Osiris, and not Jehovah, under this *golden calf*? The case needs no application.

This then was the whole of what Greece borrowed from Egypt in matter of religion, when it FIRST learnt the *mode* of Hero-worship from that superstitious people. But

4. It must be owned, that soon after, they did indeed adopt STRANGER Gods. At first the occasion

caſion was rare, and the Worſhip particular and confined. Thus the Athenians labouring under a deſtructive famine, and relieved by Egypt with corn, did, in gratitude for that benefit, make Iſis the patron-Goddeſs of their Myſteries.

Their Migrations were another cauſe of this adoption: for every region having a local tutelary Deity, the new Colony thought themſelves obliged to worſhip the God of that place in which they came to ſettle. But, of this, more in another place.

However, in proceſs of time, the Greeks naturalized all the greater Gods of Egypt. For we are to obſerve that, as ſuperſtition grew in bulk, the principle of INTERCOMMUNITY, ariſing from the very eſſence of Paganism, at length overſpread all their National Religions, ſo as to bring things round again. We obſerved, that thoſe moſt early Idol-gods, the *Celeſtial luminaries*, were common to all nations, and that *Hero-worſhip* brought in the idea of local tutelary Deities: now, the principle of INTERCOMMUNITY at length broke down this incloſure, and turned all their Gods again upon the Common,

“ The grazed ox, and all her bleating Gods ⁱ.

But to be a little more particular concerning theſe various revolutions in the genius of Paganism. The firſt idolatry was *Planetary*: and ſo long, their Gods were in common. But *Hero-worſhip*, by bringing in local tutelary Deities, made their Gods, peculiar. As the times grew poliſhed, and the

ⁱ Milton.

absurdity of MORTAL GODS became better understood, the Managers of this superstition were obliged to hide their origin from Earth, and to pretend they had ever been Celestial. This soon wore out their peculiarity, and brought in again, the notion of their general providence: which, by means of an increasing superstition, ended in an universal INTERCOMMUNITY. To explain all these particulars, as they deserve, would require a volume. And not much less perhaps might be collected from what hath been occasionally said of them, in the course of this work. Only one attendant circumstance in these revolutions, it may not be improper to take notice of, as it greatly contributed to fix the later Greeks in their mistake concerning the origin of their Hero-Gods: It was this, The learned Egyptians, as we have observed, at length contrived to hide the deformity of their idolatry by pretending that the whole had a reference to the ONLY GOD. Thus their various *Brute-worship*, they said, was severally relative to the various attributes of the DIVINITY. The same kind of refinement they brought into their *Hero-worship*: and each of their greater Gods they made significative, some way or other, of the FIRST CAUSE. But to perfect this part of their symbolical Theology, it was necessary to make large additions to the Legends of those Gods. And thus the several parts of Isis's history became relative to the divine Nature. But Isis being now possessed of all the attributes, which happened to be severally divided amongst the various Grecian Goddeses, the Greeks began to think that these were all originally derived from her. This was the established doctrine in the time of Apuleius: who makes Isis address herself to him in these words: *En assum—rerum natura parens—cujus numen unicum multiformi*

mi specie, ritu vario, nomine multijugo, totus veneratur orbis. Me primigenii Phryges Pessinunticam nominant Deum matrem; hinc Autochthones Attici Cecropiam Minervam; illinc fluctuantes Cyprii patriam Venerem; Cretes Sagittiferi Dictynnam Dianam; siculi trilingues Stygiam Proserpinam; Eleusinii vetustam Deam Cererem; Junonem alii, alii Bellonam, alii Hecaten, Rhamnusiam alii—Ægyptii ceremoniis me prorsus propriis percolentes appellant vero nomine ISIDEM^k.

OSIRIS too, becoming equally symbolical, made his fortune in the same manner, as appears by this ancient epigram:

*Ogygia me Bacchum vocat,
OSIRIN Ægyptus putat,
Myfi Phanacen nominant,
Dionyson Indi existimant,
Romana Sacra Liberum,
Arabica gens Adoneum,
Lucaniacus Pantheum^l.*

Thus have I explained the several causes which occasioned the later Greeks to think their own Gods were originally Egyptian; for understanding that the *Rites*, the *Names*, and the very *Symbols* of their Gods were borrowed from thence, they concluded the same, of the Gods themselves. And with good appearance of reason, as they found too that the ages immediately preceding theirs, had certainly adopted Egyptian Gods; which Gods had all the attributes of the Grecian. Now when this opinion was once generally embraced, they would, of course, invent a Legend for the Gods, conformable

^k *Metam.* l. xi. p. 378.

^l *Ausonius*, Ep. xxx.

to the Egyptian history of them. And thus we see the reason why they made their BACCHUS but two generations earlier than the Trojan war, of which age he was; and yet made him OSIRIS, the conqueror of India, which he was not^m. But their more intelligent historians perceived the absurdity; and so, reasonably satisfied themselves in supposing a *double Bacchus*: but being, as Herodotus observes, *very ignorant of the true origin of their Religion*, it was a mere gratuitous solution: which made it easy for Sir Isaac to evade it; by only supposing, in his turn, that it was their

^m But, besides the Greek and Egyptian, there was certainly an *Indian BACCHUS*: whose existence and history the learned Mr. Shuckford has well disembarassed. I shall quote his words, and this, with more pleasure than I have yet done on most occasions. “ There have been several persons called by the name “ of *Bacchus*, at least one in *India*, one in *Egypt*, and one in “ *Greece*; but we must not confound them one with the other, “ especially when we have remarkable hints by which we may “ sufficiently distinguish them. For 1. The Indian Bacchus “ was the first and most ancient of all that bore that name. “ 2. He was the first that pressed the grape and made wine. “ 3. He lived in these parts before there were any cities in “ *India*. 4. They say he was twice born, and that he was “ nourished in the thigh of *Jupiter*. These are the particulars “ which the heathen writers give us of the Indian Bacchus, “ and from all these hints it must unquestionably appear that “ he was NOAH, and no other. Noah being the first man in “ the *post-diluvian* world, lived early enough to be the most “ ancient Bacchus; and Noah, according to Moses, was the “ first that made wine. Noah lived in those parts as soon as “ he came out of the ark, earlier than there were any cities “ built in *India*; and as to the last circumstance of Bacchus “ being twice born, and brought forth out of the thigh of “ *Jupiter*, Diodorus gives us an unexpected light into the true “ meaning of this tradition; he says, *that Bacchus was said to “ be twice born, because in Deucalion’s flood he was thought to “ have perished with the rest of the world, but God brought “ him again as by a second nativity into the sight of men, and they “ say, mythologically, that he came out of the thigh of Jupiter.*” Connection, vol. ii. p. 49, 50.

wrong notion of the high antiquity of Egypt which made them split one *Bacchus* into two. And yet, in another instance, he frankly enough allows of this ancient practice of the *communication of names*ⁿ. But he gives the fact reversed: for they were the earlier Greeks who worshiped two *Bacchus's*. And it was late, as we find by *Diodorus*, ere they incorporated them into one^o. Now had the cause of their *duality* been what the great writer supposes, the fact had been just contrary; and earlier times had worshiped *one* Bacchus, and the later, *two*. The truth of the case then is this: when they first worshiped Hero-Gods, they had but one *Bacchus* and one *Hercules*, &c. and these were Grecian: when they afterwards borrowed the Egyptian Gods, they had two of each. And this is not said at random; for Herodotus^p and Diodorus^q expressly tell us, that two *Bacchus's* and two

ⁿ The Phenicians upon their first coming into Greece gave the name of *Jao-pater*, *Jupiter*, to every king. p. 150. Chron. of anc. kings amended.

^o Διμήτορα δ' αὐτὸν προσαγορευθῆναι λέγουσι, διὰ τὸ πατρὸς μὲν ἑνὸς ὑπάρχειν τῆς δὲ Διονύσου, μητέρων δὲ δυεῖν. κεκληρονομηκέναι δὲ τὸν νεώτερον τὰς τῆ προγενεσέων πράξεις. διόπερ τῆς ΜΕΤΑΓΕΝΕΣΤΕΡΟΥΣ ἀνθρώπου, ΑΓΝΟΥΝΤΑΣ μὲν τὰ λήθη, πλανηθείας δὲ διὰ τὴν ὁμωνυμίαν, ἓνα γεγονέναι νομίσαι Διόνυσον. l. iv. p. 148.

^p — Καὶ δοκέουσι δέ μοι ἔσθαι ὀρθότατα Ἑλλήνων ποιεῖν, οἱ δὲ ἑξ Ἡράκλεια ἰδρυσάμενοι ἐκλήναι· καὶ τῷ μὲν, ὡς ΑΘΑΝΑΤΩ, Ὀλυμπίαν δὲ ἐπωνυμίην, θύουσι· τῷ δ' ἑτέρῳ, ὡς Ἡρώϊ, ἐναγίζουσι. Herod. l. ii. c. 44.

^q Μυθολογοῦσι δὲ τινες καὶ ἕτερον Διόνυσον γεγονέναι πρὸ τοῖς χρόνοις προλεγεῖναι τούτου. φασὶ γὰρ ἐκ Διὸς καὶ Περσεφόνης Διόνυσον γενέσθαι, τὸν ὑπὸ τινων Σαβαάζιον ὀνομαζόμενον· ὃ τὴν τε γένεσιν, καὶ τὰς θυσίας, καὶ τιμὰς ΝΥΚΤΕΡΙΝΑΣ καὶ ΚΡΥΦΙΑΣ παρεισάγουσι, διὰ τὴν αἰσχυρὴν τὴν ἐκ τῆς συνθεσίας ἐπακολυθεῖσαν. Diod. l. iv. p. 148.

two *Hercules's* were worshiped by different Rites, and as Gods of different original, the one Grecian, the other Egyptian. And at length, for the causes explained under the next head, the *two* of each were again reduced to *one*. For we shall now see, that design as well as mistake contributed to confound the Grecian Bacchus with the Egyptian.

III. For our illustrious Author makes another use of the Grecian mythology, to support his system. He examines the genealogies of their Gods and Heroes; and finds them to coincide exactly with the time of SESOSTRIS^r: A farther evidence of the truth of his hypothesis.

There are but few cases in which one would seriously admit the testimony of a Mythologist. Least of all, in settling of dates. The most learned of the moderns complain greatly of them for confounding all time in their pretended relations of fact. The excellent bishop STILLINGFLEET thus expresseth himself: *We see those* [Thucydides and Plutarch, whose confession he had quoted] *who were best able to judge of the Greek Antiquities, can find no sure footing to stand on in them; and what basis can we find for our faith where they could find so little for their knowledge? And those who have been more daring and venturous than these persons mentioned, what a labyrinth have they run themselves into? How many confusions and contradictions have they in-*

These nightly and secret Rites shew them to be Egyptian. As for what is said of the other Bacchus's being the son of Proserpine, this was only a fancy of the Greeks on observing the mysteries of Bacchus and those of Ceres or Isis to have a great resemblance: but this was only occasioned by their being both Egyptian Rites.

^r Page 191. & seq. of the *Chron. of anc. kingdom*; amended.
volved

involved themselves in? sometimes writing the passages of other countries for those of Greece, and at other times so confounding times, persons, and places, that one might think they had only a design upon the understandings of their readers, to make them play at blind-man's-buff in searching for the kings of Greece^s. And the candid and accurate bishop CUMBERLAND speaks so much to our purpose, that I shall add his words to the foregoing: *Their mythic writers confound and lose all the times of their Gods; which advantage divers Christians make use of against them: and this was a good argument ad hominem, as it is called, but is not sufficient to prove, that idolatry, and the heathen Gods, are of SO LATE AN ORIGINAL, as some, both Heathen and Christians, have affirmed them to be*^t. Now though, in answer to what Sir Isaac Newton brings from such writers, it were enough to say, with those who have considered their character before me, that they are so perplexed, contradictory, and infinitely fabulous, that nothing certain can be gathered from their accounts, for the regulation of ancient time; yet that they may never appear again amongst witnesses of credit, or be heard in matters of fact, I shall endeavour to shew, from what sources those accounts arose, from which the low date of the Egyptian Gods is inferred: whence it will appear that they are a heap of fictions, invented and contrived, as usual, only for the support of greater.

1. The *first* source was the address of the EGYPTIAN PRIESTS, to screen their *Hero-worship* from the inquisition of the curious. We have observed, from a famous fable, invented by these men^u, to

^s *Orig. Sacr.* p. 41. 8th ed. ^t *Sanctoniatho*, p. 132, 133.

^u The fable I mean is that of *Typhon's* persecution of the Gods and their flight into Egypt; which the Greeks borrowed and fitted up with their own names of the Gods.

record the danger which this superstition incurred, and from their art in evading that danger, that the original of their *Hero-Gods* was a subject maliciously pursued by the Free enquirers of those times. For the discredit attending this superstition was, that these Gods had been MEN; and the proof of their humanity was taken from their late existence. Now what did these Masters in their trade do, to evade this evidence? We have seen before what they did to obscure the enquiry. Why, by an equal effort of their skill, they invented a set of fables (one of which has been examined above) concerning these Gods; which brought their births even *lower down* than to the times of their established worship. What they gained by this was considerable: They threw a general confusion over the whole history of these Gods: and in a short time made men as indisposed to give credit to the *old* stories of them, (from whence the dangerous truth of their HUMANITY might be collected) as these *new* fables, which it was impossible they should believe, for the reason just now assigned. Hence, the first source of the *low dates* of these Hero-Gods.

2. The *second*, was the extravagant vanity of the Greeks in pretending, at length, to be original even to the Egyptians themselves. For we are to observe, that there were three distinguished periods in the Religion of civilized Greece; two of which we have described already. The first was, when the Greeks borrowed egyptian Rites and Ceremonies to adorn their own Hero-gods: the second, when they adopted the very Egyptian Gods: and the third, when, on the contrary, they pretended that the Egyptians had adopted Theirs. On their first acquaintance with Egypt, they were modest, and

and fairly allowed its superior Antiquity. But as they advanced in arts and empire, they grew intoxicated with their good fortune; and would now contend with Egypt, (become by this time as much fallen and depressed, in both) for the honour of priority; and soon after, (as was no wonder when they had ventured so far) with all the rest of Mankind*. And then it was, that having, before this time, thoroughly confounded the grecian and egyptian Bacchus with design, (a confusion first occasioned by mistake) they invented many fables to countenance their absurd pretensions. Hence their idle tale of Apis the son or grandson of Phoroneus, becoming OSIRIS; without any other reason in the world than that the son of Phoroneus chanced to have the same name with the *symbol* of Osiris. Hence, again, the fable of Io, the daughter of Inachus, becoming ISIS; for scarce so good a reason; only an approaching similitude of names. Yet these two wretched fables, Sir Isaac Newton (surprising as it is) hath drawn in for the main supports of his hypothesis^y. But as much credit as his countenance hath given to them, he who can suppose Io to be stolen out of Greece, carried into Egypt, and there made a Goddess, may as well believe an european ship to be now busied in bringing hither an indian savage to be made a queen,

But another story of the same stamp, carries its confutation along with it, as Herodotus rightly

* Λαμβάνει δ' αὐτὸς τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ ὁρῶμεν αἰφ' ὧν μὴ ὅτι γε φιλοσοφία, ἀλλὰ καὶ γένεσις ἀνθρώπων ἤρξε, Βαρβάρους προσάπτεται.
Diogenes Laertius, Proœm. Segm. 3.

^y Page 192. of his *Chronology*.

observed^z. For, to bring Hercules, as they had done Isis and Osiris, out of Greece into Egypt, in a manner suitable to his character, they pretended that, when he had landed on that inhospitable shore, and was led by the Natives, crowned with garlands, to be offered up at the altar of Jupiter, he broke loose from his leaders, and slaughtered all who were assembled for the Sacrifice: and in this rough manner, I suppose, taught them to abolish those inhuman rites, and to worship their chastiser, as a God: which would seem to have been the first bringing in of club-law into Religion. But, as Herodotus observes, the inventor of this fable hath laid his story so ill together, that he hath only betrayed his own ignorance of Egyptian Manners. For, from the most early time, the inhabitants of the Nile were so far from offering up human victims, that they held it unlawful to sacrifice above three or four species of animals. But the Egyptians owed them a good turn for this slander of *human sacrifices*; and indeed paid them with usury. For Herodotus tells us, the Priests informed him, that when Menelaus went to Egypt to enquire after Helen, and lay wind-bound in their ports, he cut up two children of the natives, to divine by their entrails^a.

This humour of priority was so rooted in the Greeks, that Diodorus seems to insinuate, they always disputed it with the Egyptians^b. And so far

^z Λέγουσι δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα ἀνεπισκέπτως οἱ Ἕλληνες. ἐνέθης δὲ αὐτέων καὶ ὅδε ὁ μῦθος ἐστὶ, τὸν περὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους λέγουσι· ὡς αὐτὸν ἀπικόμενον εἰς Αἴγυπτον, Ὡς. l. ii. c. 45.

^a Λαβὼν γὰρ δύο παῖδια ἀνδρῶν ἐπιχωρίων, ἐνόμα' σφεα ἐποίησε. Herod. l. ii. c. 119.

^b Περί δὲ τῆς τοῦ βίβης ἡγεῖν γένος ἀρχαιότητι· ὃ μόνον ἀμφισβητήσιν Ἕλληνες, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν Βαρβάρων, ἐαυτοὺς αὐτόχθονας λεγόντες,—p. 6.
indeed

indeed is true, that it was one of their most early vanities^c: and though afterwards, on their more intimate acquaintance with Egypt, it was in some degree corrected, yet it burst out again, and lasted, as we see, even to the time of Diogenes Laertius. But this is the pleasant part of the story; The Egyptians were not content to complain, as well they might, that the Greeks had stolen away their Gods and Heroes; but they would needs make reprisals on them. Thus, as Diodorus tells us, when they charged the Greeks with taking away their Isis, to aggravate the theft they pretended that Athens itself was originally but an egyptian Colony^d. This was a home stroke: but the Greeks as handsomely returned it; by affirming that one of the egyptian pyramids was built by Rhodope, a grecian whore^e. This setting up one false claim to oppose another was in the very spirit of ancient Paganism^f. So again, the Egyptians

^c See p. 31, 32.

^d Καὶ τὰς Ἀθηναίους δὲ φασιν ἀποίκους εἶναι Σαῖτῶν τῶν ἐξ Ἀιγύπτου. *Diod. p. 17.*

^e Τὴν δὲ μελεξέτερος φασὶ Ἑλλήνων Ῥοδώπειαν ἐταίρης γυναικὸς εἶναι. *Herod. l. ii. c. 134.* Their handle for this was a story the Egyptian priests told of their king Cheops, the great builder of pyramids, That, having exhausted his revenues, he raised a new fund for his expences by the prostitution of his DAUGHTER: By which the priests, in their figurative way of recording matters, only meant, as I suppose, that he prostituted JUSTICE. This interpretation is much confirmed by the character they give of his son Mycerinus, δίκας δὲ σφι πάντων βασιλῆων δικαιοσύνας κρίνειν. [*See Herod. l. ii. c. 126, 129.*] However the Greeks took it literally.

^f See *Div. Leg. vol. i.* where we have shewn, that the Converts from Gentilism, unhappily practised it even after they had professed a Religion which condemns all the oblique arts of falshood, and unjust retaliation.

maintaining that civilized Greece was indebted for the mode of Hero-worship to them; did, in order to support a just claim, which wanted none of these arts, pretend to Antiquity most extravagantly *high*. The Greeks, not to be behind hand with them, and to support a false claim which did want these sort of arts, having pretended that the Egyptians borrowed all from them, brought down the age of these disputed Gods as much too *low*. Unluckily, the great Author, who saw the unreasonable Antiquity of the one system, did not advert to the unreasonable Novelty of the other.

But we are not to think the Greeks firm and steady in this natural consequence of their unjust pretensions. Nothing is so inconstant as falsehood. When, therefore, on the issue it was seen that all the Records of former times contradicted this novelty; and, consequently that their darling claim itself was likely to be in danger, they shifted their support, and then contended, in imitation of the Egyptians, for as extravagant an Antiquity^s.

IV. Hitherto Sir Isaac Newton was drawn in by Antiquity; which had sunk with him, and foundered in the treacherous soil of Mythology. But the greatest part of his reasoning, from these Genealogies, stands upon an error of his own. The age preceding the destruction of Troy is full of the loves and intrigues of the greater Divinities: who supplied that expedition from their own loins with Demy-Gods once removed. Sir Isaac, who sup-

^s — Πάντων δὴ πρῶτον μνησθῶμεν, ὅτι τὸ κεφάλαιον ἦν ἐννάκις ἔτη χίλια, ἀφ' ἧς γεγονώς ἐμνηνύθη πόλεμος τοῖς θ' ὑπὲρ Ἡρακλείας γήλας ἔξω καλοικῶσι καὶ τοῖς ἐντὸς παῖσιν· ὃν δεῖ νῦν διαπεραίνειν· τῶν μὲν ἦν ἡδὲ ἡ πόλις ἀρχαῖα καὶ πάντα τὸν πόλεμον διαπολεμήσασα ἐλέγχετο. *Plato*, vol. iii. p. 108. E.

posed, as indeed he well might from physical observation, that the Gods left off getting children when they died, concludes, from the mythologic account of their Offspring, that they must needs have lived but two or three generations before the war of Troy. But our great Philosopher took this thing a deal too seriously. The truth is, he concerned himself no farther with the fabulous history of ancient times than just served the purpose of his system. Otherwise he might have found, on the most cursory survey, that one of the essential attributes of a pagan God was the getting of Bastards: and that, for one he fairly had in life, his worshipers fathered an hundred upon him after his decease. This amorous commerce between Heaven and Earth never ceased till near the latest times of Paganism; as we learn from the primitive Apologists; who referring to their perpetual intrigues in mythologic story, rally the idolaters, of their time, with great vivacity, on the decrepid old age and sudden debility of their Gods.

It being then notorious that, in the later ages of Paganism, Earth swarmed as thick with the progeny of Heaven, as in the early times of that religion, Heaven swarmed with the progeny of Earth, Sir Isaac's calculation, from the time of the sons and grandsons of the Gods, what must needs be their own, is altogether fallacious. But as, in this inquiry, we have still attempted to account for the fables of Antiquity, in order to detect their various impostures, and prevent their future mischief, we shall now consider the original of those in question.

1. The first cause of this doubly-spurious Offspring, was the contrivance of wives to hide their adultery; of virgins to excuse their incontinence;

and of parents to cover the dishonour of their House^h. The God bore the blame, or rather the Mortal reaped the glory; and Passion, as is usual, was advanced into Piety. Great men too, employed it, (for then Great men had some regard for their Race and Name) to conceal the ignominy of a low born commerce. In a word, both sexes soon learnt the sweets of a holy intrigue; where a pretended converse with a God or Goddess preserved the reputation of the weaker, and procured power and authority to the stronger sex. Sometimes the pretended amour was mutually concerted between the real parties: as that of Anchises and a Country wench; who, in regard to his honour, was to pass for a Venus. So Homerⁱ.

“ Divine Æneas brings the Darden race,
 “ Anchises’ son by Venus’ stol’n embrace;
 “ Born in the shades of Ida’s secret grove,
 “ A Mortal mixing with the Queen of Love.

MR. POPE.

And, in a much later age, the Wife of Philip of Macedon and her Court-gallant. Sometimes again, one of the parties was deceived by the mask

^h Plutarch, in Theseus, tells us, that when the daughter of Pitheus bore Theseus of Ægeus, her father gave out that the infant was begot by Neptune.

ⁱ Δαρδανίαν αὐτ’ ἤγεχεν, εὐς παῖς Ἀλχίσταδ,
 Ἀνείας τὸν ὑπ’ Ἀλχίστη τέκε δὲ Ἀφροδίτη,
 Ἰδῆς ἐν κρημνοῖσι, θεὰ βροτῶν ἐυνυθεῖσα.

IL. β. ver. 819.

Yet this is one of the instances Sir Isaac brings to prove the low age of the Goddess Venus. See p. 191. of his *Chronology*.

of

of divinity which the other had impiously assumed, as seems to have been the case of Astiochè^k.

“ Two valiant brothers rule th’ undaunted throng,
 “ Ialmen and Afcalphus the strong:
 “ Sons of Aftyochè the heav’nly fair,
 “ Whose virgin charms subdu’d the God of war:
 “ In Aëtör’s court, as she retir’d to rest,
 “ The strength of Mars the blushing maid comprest.
 Mr. POPE.

And of the priestess Rhea,

———*Quem Rhea Sacerdos*
FURTIVUM partu sub luminis edidit auras,
Mista Deo Mulier^l.

And of Alcmene the mother of Hercules. It was certainly the case of the virtuous Paulina, in the reign of Tiberius: who being made to believe that the God Anubis was fallen in love with her, went to the appointed assignation with a mind equally ballanced by conjugal chastity and superstition. The story is very curious, and told by Josephus^m, in all its circumstances. In short, if we may believe Ovid, who was exquisitely skilled in the mythologic story, this was one of the most common covers of lust and concupiscence. The pretended

^k Τῶν ἡγεῖν Ἀσκάλαφον καὶ Ἰάλμεν υἱὲς Ἀρηῶ,
 Οὓς τέκεν Ἀσυόχη, δόμῳ Ἀκίτορος Ἀζειδαο,
 Παρθένῳ Αἰδοίῃ, ὑπερῷον εἰσαναβάσα,
 Ἀρηί κρηλεῖν· ὃ δὲ οἱ παρελέξαίῃο ΛΑΘΡΗ. 1λ. β. ver. 512.

^l *Æn.* l. vii. ver. 659. See *Dionys. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom.* l. i. p. 62.

^m *Antiq. Jud.* l. xviii. c. 3. See, for this general practice, *Herod.* l. i. c. 181.

nurse of Semele is made to caution her mistress against the addresses of Jupiter, in the following manner :

—————Opto

*Jupiter ut sit, ait : Metuo tamen omnia. MULTI
NOMINE DIVORUM THALAMOS INIERE PU-
DICOSⁿ.*

2. Another cause was the ambition of the pretenders themselves to heavenly birth, in order to support their authority amongst their barbarous subjects or followers. Thus we are told, that the two Amazon queens, Marthesia and Lampeto, gave out that they were the daughters of Mars, *ne successibus deesset auctoritas* (says the historian) *genitas se MARTE prædicabant^o*. And thus Romulus and Remus pretended to the same relation: But this matter is explained more at large in the discourse on the ancient Lawgivers^p.

3. A third cause was the flattery of sycophants and corrupt Courtiers. To this practice Clepolemus alludes, in his address to Sarpedon :

“ Know thy vain self, *nor let their flatt’ry move,*
“ Who style thee son of cloud-compelling Jove,
“ How far unlike those chiefs of race divine !
“ How vast the diff’rence of their deeds and thine^q !

Mr. POPE.

ⁿ *Metam.* l. iii. fab. 3.

^o *Justin. Hist.* l. ii. c. 4.

^p *Div. Leg.* vol. i. l. ii. sect. 2.

^q Ψευδόμενοι δέ σε φασὶ Διὸς γόνον αἰγιόχοιο
Εἶναι, ἐπεὶ πολλὸν κείνων ἐπιδεύεαι ἀνδρῶν
Οἱ Διὸς ἐξεγέννητο ἐπὶ πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων,

Il. ε. ver. 635.

4. A fourth cause was a mere figure of speech common in the eastern phraseology: which, to express the qualities of the subject, called a prudent and powerful monarch^r the son of Jupiter; a violent and inhuman^s ravager, or an expert and able seaman, the son of Neptune^t; a sharper, a banker or a large trader, the son of Mercury; a cultivator of the fine arts, the son of Apollo; a great warrior, the son of Mars; a beautiful woman, the daughter of Venus; and a good physician, the offspring of Æsculapius. Thus Homer,

“ In thirty sail the sparkling waves divide,
 “ Which Podalirius and Machaon guide.

^r The words of Callimachus, in his hymn to Jupiter, are so apposite to our purpose, that the learned reader will not think them quoted impertinently.

Ἀντίκα χαλκῆας μὲν ὕδείομεν Ἡφαιστοιο,
 Τευχεύας δ' Ἀργεῖοι· ἐπακλήρας δὲ χιλῶνης
 Ἀρτέμιδος· Φοῖβε δὲ, λύρης ἐν εἰδότας οἶμης.
 Ἐκ δὲ Διὸς βασιλῆες· ἐπεὶ Διὸς ἔδεν ἀνάκτων
 Θεώτερον.

Ver. 76, & seq.

^s Præstantissimos virtute, prudentia, viribus, *Jovis filios* poetæ appellaverunt, ut Æacum, & Minoa, & Sarpedona: Ferocissimos et immanes et alienos ab omni humanitate tamquam e mari genitos, *Neptuni filios* dixerunt, Cyclopa, & Cereyona, & Scyrona, & Læstrygonas. *A. Gellius*, lib. xv. c. 21.

^t Thus in the Argonautic expedition *Typhis* the pilot, and his mate *Ergynus*, were called the sons of Neptune. And when these died in the voyage, they were succeeded by *Ancæus* and *Euphemus*; and both of these, we are told, were the sons of Neptune, likewise. I chose to give the reader this instance, because, from this figure of speech, thus qualifying men any way distinguished in the Argonautic times, Sir Isaac Newton infers the low age of the Grecian Deities.

“ To

“ To these his skill their *Parent-God* imparts,
 “ Divine professors of the healing arts ”.

Mr. POPE.

And that the poet meant no more than that they were excellent in their profession, appears from his giving to all the Egyptians the same original, where speaking of their superior eminence in the art of physic, he says,

“ These drugs, so friendly to the joys of life,
 “ Bright Helen learn’d from Thone’s imperial wife;
 “ Who sway’d the sceptre, where prolific Nile
 “ With various simples clothes the fat’ned soil—
 “ From *Pæon* sprung, their patron God imparts
 “ To all the Pharian race his healing arts ”.

Mr. FENTON.

5. The last cause I shall mention were the dotages of judicial Astrology. But whether the giving to each of their Gods a Star over which to preside was the *cause* or *effect* of this folly may be disputed; because, I believe, it was sometimes one, and sometimes the other. Yet it gave frequent occasion to call an extraordinary person the son of that God or Goddess under whose planet he was born.

Thus have I endeavoured to discover and lay open the true causes of all that confusion which goes under the name of the *History of the heroic*

* Τῶν αὖθ' ἡγείσθην Ἀσκληπιῶ δύο παῖδε,
 Ἰητῆρ' ἀγαθῶ, Ποδαλείριον ἠδὲ Μαχάων *
 Τοῖς δὲ τριήκοντα γλαφυραὶ νέες ἐσιχούοντο.

Il. β. ver. 731.

* Ἰητρὸς δὲ ἕκαστον ἐπισάμενον περὶ πάντων
 Ἀνθρώπων * ἥ γὰρ Παιφονός εἰσι γενέθλης.

Od. δ. ver. 231.

ages.

ages. Those false facts therefore, and the mistaken conclusion drawn from them by Sir Isaac Newton, to support the identity of Osiris and Sesostris, being detected, general tradition, which vouches for their real diversity, is reinstated in its credit: whose testimony likewise, as I have gone along, I have not neglected occasionally to support by divers corroborating circumstances.

I might indeed have taken a very different rout though this *Land of Fables*, to the confutation of his hypothesis; by opposing adventure to adventure, and genealogy to genealogy; and have formed upon them, as others have done before me, a system of chronology directly opposite to our illustrious Author's. But this instead, of relieving the reader, would only have put him in mind of the old man's complaint. *Incertior sum multo quam dudum*. I have therefore attempted a way of greater certainty, in an explanation of the general principles and practices of ancient Superstition; of which, their mythologic history was the fruits: And by this it appears, that all these pretended Facts, on which Sir Isaac Newton supports his hypothesis of the identity of OSIRIS and SESOSTRIS, are mere Fables, invented to confound all times and æras, and therefore most unhappily chosen for one of the means of regulating and reforming the ancient Chronology.

III.

But although I could have given no reasonable account of these mistaken facts, from which Sir Isaac Newton infers the identity, I was still able to prove the falshood of that supposed identity, by the consequences that follow from it: not only by those

those which our great Author would not, but by those which he would, venture to admit. Both of which directly contradict SCRIPTURE and the NATURE OF THINGS. So that, as before I proved the error of his conclusion from the falshood of his premisses; I now begin at the other end, and shall prove the falshood of his premisses from the error of his conclusion.

I. I have, in the third and fourth sections of this book, shewn at large, from sacred Scripture, illustrated and confirmed by prophane Antiquity, that Egypt was a polite and powerful Empire at the egression of the Israelites. This is alone sufficient to overthrow Sir Isaac Newton's whole system. But to make the truth still more evident, it may be proper to take a particular, though short, view of the necessary consequences which follow from the supposed identity of Osiris and Sesostris. These may be divided into two parts; such as our great author hath ventured to own; and such, as for their apparent falshood, he was obliged to pass over in silence.

To begin with the latter. Those very histories on which Sir Isaac builds his identity, tell us that Osiris and his wife and sister Isis were the professed patron and patroness of nascent arts, the very instruments of husbandry being invented in their time; that he first taught the culture of the vine^y; and abolished the bad habit, his savage Subjects had of eating one another^z: and that she taught

^y Εὐρείην δ' αὐτὸν γενέσθαι φασὶ τῆς ἀμπέλου περὶ τὴν Νύσαν, καὶ τὴν ἐργασίαν τῆς ταύτης καρπῶ προσεπινοήσαντα, πρῶτον οἶνον χεῖσασθαι καὶ διδάξαι τὰς ἄλλας ἀνθρώπους τὴν τε φυλαίαν τῆς ἀμπέλου, καὶ τὴν χεῖσιν τῶ οἴνῳ, καὶ τὴν συσκομιδὴν αὐτῶ καὶ τήρησιν. *Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 10.*

^z Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ παῦσαι τῆς ἀλληλοφαιγίας τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος. *Id. page 9.*

them to sow corn^a; and gave them their first system of laws^b.—But if Osiris were Sesostris, all these fine discoveries were made but two generations before the Trojan war, and full five hundred years after the egression of the Israelites from Egypt: And then what are we to think of the Bible? But the gross absurdity of these things hindered our Author from receiving them into the consequences of his new system: yet these standing on the same authority with the consequences, he hath thought fit to receive, he was obliged to pass them over in silence. But though he be silent, we should not. On the contrary, we must insist that he hath transgressed the plainest rules of fair reasoning, which required him, either to receive the consequences he hath rejected, or to reject those which he hath received; or lastly, to shew, that they stand upon a different authority. But he will do nothing of this; he picks and chuses as he likes best, and, what is not for his purpose, he leaves without notice. Diodorus says, that Osiris abolished the custom of human sacrifices; that he built the city of Thebes; that he regulated the worship of the Gods; and conquered many nations. These things Sir Isaac, who takes Osiris for Sesostris, readily admits. The same Historian says, that this Osiris first cultivated the vine; restrained his Subjects from eating one another; and found out the arts of life; that his wife Isis invented agriculture, and gave

^a Εὐρέσσης μὲν Ἰσιδῶ τόν τε τῷ πυρὶ καὶ τῆς κριθῆς καρπὸν, (φυόμενον μὲν ὡς ἔτυχεν κατὰ τὴν χώραν μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης βόλωνος, ἀγνοούμενον δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων) τῷ δὲ Ὀσίριδῶ ἐπινοήσαντι τὴν τέττων κατεργασίαν τῶν καρπῶν. *Id. ib.*

^b Θεῖναι δὲ φασι καὶ νόμους τὴν Ἰσιν, καθ' ἧς ἀλλήλοις διδόναι τὰς ἀνθρώπους τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τῆς ἀθέσμης βίας καὶ ὕβρεως παύσασθαι, διὰ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς τιμωρίας φόβον. *Id. ib.*

the first law to the Egyptians; but all this, Sir Isaac tacitly rejects. Yet if one part of the Sicilian's account be of better authority than the rest, it is that, which says, *Isis invented agriculture*: for he expressly tells us, that so it was found written on a large column, in hieroglyphic characters, half consumed by time, then standing in the city of Nyssa in Arabia^c: and, without his telling, we are well assured, that her *mysteries* had very early brought the knowledge of the fact to all the neighbouring nations.

II. Amongst the consequences which the great Author hath thought fit to admit; some are these, That *instruments of war; horses for military service; animal food; the exact distribution of property; alphabetic letters, and the well peopling of Egypt*, were all the product of the Sesostrian age.

I. Vulcan, he says, who lived even to the times of the Trojan war, invented Armour, and was, on that account, deified by the Egyptians. His words are these. *He [Vulcan] reigned there [in Cyprus and Byblus] till a very great age, living to the times of the trojan war, and becoming exceeding rich^d— And for assisting the Egyptians with armour, it is probable, that he was deified by his friends the Egyptians, by the name of Baal-Canaan or Vulcan: for Vulcan was celebrated principally by the Egyptians, and was a king, according to Homer, and reigned in Lemnos; and Cinyras was an inventor of arts, and found out copper in Cyprus, and the smith's hammer,*

^c Ἐγὼ Ἰσις εἰμι ἡ βασίλισσα πάσης χώρας — Ἐγὼ εἰμι γυνὴ καὶ ἀδελφὴ Ὀσίριδος βασιλέως. Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ πρώτη κατὰ τὸν ἀνθρώποις εὐρεῖσα. *Id.* p. 16.

^d Page 223.

and anvil, and tongs and laver; and employed workmen in making armour, and other things of brass and iron, and was the only king celebrated in history for working in metals, and was king of Lemnos, and the husband of Venus; all which are the characters of Vulcan: and the Egyptians about the time of the death of Cinyras, viz. in the reign of their king Amenophis, built a very sumptuous temple at Memphis to Vulcan^e. Here we have a Hero, living till the time of the Trojan war, not only the inventor of arms, but likewise of the very tools employed in making them. That this was our Author's meaning, is plain from what he tells us of the Egyptians fighting with clubs in the time of Sesostris^f; which certainly, was for want of better weapons: and still plainer, from what he tells of Vulcan's being made a God; which, certainly, was for a NEW INVENTION. If I should now shew, by a formal enumeration of particulars, how all here said, contradicts the BIBLE, the reader would think me disposed to trifle with him. Instead of this, I shall but just observe, how ill it agrees with HOMER: who seems, indeed, to make Vulcan the Patron-God of the Armourers, but, at the same time, makes both him, and the invention, the product of a much earlier age. From the poem of the Trojan war it appears that military weapons had been then of tried use; and Vulcan, and his wife Venus, Deities of long standing. Nor can it be objected that the poet hath here given us the picture of his own times. He was a stricter observer of Decorum: as may be seen amongst other instances, from a celebrated one taken notice of by the critics, that though, in his days, Cavalry were common, yet he brings none to the siege of Troy,

^e Page 224, 225.^f Page 215.

because those times had not yet learnt their use. Nor was he less knowing than exact; for he was possessed of the Songs and Poems of his ancestors; in which he found all the particulars of that famous expedition^s. Now, if military weapons, at the
time

^s That Homer collected his materials from the old Songs and Poems of his predecessors, I conclude from this circumstance; In those things wherein he might be instructed by the records of poesy, we find him calling upon the MUSES to inform him: But when he relates what happened amongst the Gods, which he could only learn by poetical inspiration, he goes boldly into his story, without invoking the *Muses*, at all. Thus when he speaks of the squabbles between Jupiter, and his wife Juno, he tells them with as little preparation as if they had been his next door neighbours. But when he comes to give a catalogue of the Grecian forces which went to the siege of Troy, the likeliest of all subjects to be found in the old poems of his Ancestors, he invokes the Muses in the most solemn and pompous manner: which therefore I understand as only a more figurative intimation, (to give the greater authority to what followed) that he took his account from authentic records, and not from uncertain tradition. And these old poems being, in his time, held sacred, as supposed to be written by a kind of divine impulse, an invocation to them, under the name of the Goddesses, who were said to have inspired them, was an extreme natural and easy figure:

Ἐσπέτε νῦν μοι, Μῦσαι, ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι.
Ἵμεῖς γὰρ θεαὶ ἐστέ, πάρεστέ τε, ἴστέ τε πάντα,
Ἵμεῖς δὲ κλέος οἷον ἀκούμεν, ἔδ' ἐτι ἴδμεν.
Οἵτινες ἡγεμόνες — *Il. β. ver. 484.*

“ Say, Virgins, seated round the throne divine,
“ All-knowing Goddesses! immortal nine!
“ Since Earth's wide regions, Heav'n's unmeasur'd height,
“ And Hell's abyss hide nothing from your sight,
“ We wretched mortals lost in doubt below,
“ But guess by rumour, and but boast we know,
“ Oh, say what Heroes. — *Mr. POPE.*

Which, put into a plain dress, is no more than this, *That as the old records of the poets had preserved a very circumstantial account*
of

time of the Trojan war, had been long in use amongst the Greeks, it is hardly possible they should have been but just invented in Egypt.

2. Our

of the forces warring before Troy, he chose rather to fetch his accounts from thence than from uncertain and confused tradition.

This observation will help to explain another particular in Homer, and as remarkable; namely, his so frequently telling us, as he is describing persons or things, that they bore one name amongst the Gods, and another amongst Mortals. Which, we may now collect, means no more than that, in those old poems, they were called differently from what they were in the time of Homer. Thus speaking of Titan he says,

ὦχ' Ἐκαλόχειρον καλέσας ἔς μακρὸν Ὀλυμπόν,
Ὀν Βριάρεων καλέσσι θεοὶ, ἄνδρες δὲ τε πάντες
Αἰγαίων ——— Ιλ. α. ver. 402.

“ Then call'd by thee, the monster Titan came,
“ Whom Gods, Briareus, men Ægeon name. Mr. POPE.

So again,

Ἔστι δὲ τις προπάρκοιτο πόλεως αἰπεῖα κολώνη,
Ἐν πεδίῳ ἀπ' ἀνέυθε, περὶ δρομὸν ἔνθα κ' ἔνθα.
Τὴν ἦτοι ἄνδρες Βαλκείαν κικλήσκουσιν,
Ἀθάναίῳ δὲ τε σῆμα πολυσκάρθημοιο Μυρίνης. Ιλ. β. ver. 811.

“ Amidst the plain in sight of Ilion stands
“ A rising mount, the work of human hands,
“ This for Myrinnè's Tomb th' immortals know,
“ Tho' call'd Bateia in the world below. Mr. POPE.

And again,

Ἀνία δ' ἄρ' Ἠφαίστιο μέγας ποταμὸς βαθυδίνης,
Ὀν Ξάνθον καλέσσι θεοὶ, ἄνδρες δὲ Σκάμανδρον. Ιλ. δ. ver. 73.

“ With fiery Vulcan last in battle stands
“ The sacred flood that rolls on golden sands;
“ Xanthus his name with those of heav'nly birth,
“ But call'd Scamander by the sons of earth. Mr. POPE.

2. Our author makes Sesostris's conquest of Libya the occasion of furnishing Egypt with Horses. *After the conquest of Libya (says he) by which Egypt was furnished with horses, and furnished Solomon and his friends, he prepared a fleet, &cⁿ.* The illustrious Writer is here speaking of the original of those civil advantages, for which ancient Egypt was so much celebrated. He had before, and afterwards, told us his thoughts of their *astronomy, navigation, letters, names, and weapons of war.* We cannot therefore but understand what he here says, of the *Libyan horses*, to mean, that the conquest of that country was the first occasion of Egypt's abounding in Horse. But this directly contradicts holy Scripture, which assures us that they abounded in Horse long before. Their pursuit of the Israelites is thus described, — *And Pharaoh made ready his chariot, and took his people with him. And he took six*

Now supposing these names were not taken by Homer from the old poems, no reasonable account can be given for his so particular an information of this circumstance. But allow them to be taken thence, and the reason is evident. It was to remind the reader, from time to time, that he still kept their own venerable records in his eye; which would give weight and authority to what he delivered. The old names are called by Homer, the *Names used by the immortals*, on these three accounts: 1. As they were the names employed in the old sacred poems. 2. As they were in use in the first heroic ages. And 3. As they were of barbarous and Egyptian original; from whence came the mythologic history of the Gods. Two lines of the pretended Chaldaic oracles, collected by Patricius, explain this whole matter well, as they shew the great reverence of the Ancients for the *Religion of names*:

Ὀνόμαϊα βάρβαρα μή ποτ' ἀλλάξης,
Εἰσὶ γὰρ ὀνόμαϊα παρ' ἐκάστοις θεόδοϊα.

Never change barbarous Names; for every nation hath Names which it received from God.

*hundred chosen chariots, and all the chariots of Egypt, and captains over every one of them.—The Egyptians pursued after them (all the horses and chariots of Pharaoh and his horsemen and his army.)—And the Egyptians pursued after them to the midst of the sea, even all Pharaoh's horses, his chariots and his horsemen*¹. Sir Isaac seems to have been aware of this evidence against him, and endeavours to turn it on the side of his hypothesis. *In the days of MOSES* (says he) *all the chariots of Egypt, with which Pharaoh pursued Israel, WERE BUT SIX HUNDRED. Exod. xiv. 7*^k. This is a strange mistake. The *six hundred*, mentioned in the place quoted, are expressly said to be the *chosen chariots*, that is the king's guard; for over and above these, *all the chariots of Egypt*, an indefinite number, were in the pursuit. Besides, the number of horses is not to be estimated from the chariots, because there was an army of *horsemen* likewise in this expedition,

However, by Sir Isaac's own confession it appears, that Egypt abounded with Horse much earlier than the time he here assigns. For the vast number of Philistim Horse brought into the field, in the second year of the reign of Saul, in an army consisting of thirty thousand chariots and six thousand horsemen, came all, in our author's opinion, from Egypt. *The Canaanites* (says he) *had their Horses from Egypt; and—from the great army of the Philistims against Saul, and the great number of their Horses I seem to gather that the shepherds had newly relinquished Egypt, and joined them*¹.—Now if they had such plenty of horse in the time

¹ Exod. xiv. ver. 6, 7—9—23.^k Page 167.¹ Ibid.

of Saul, how was it that they were first furnished from Libya in the time of Sefac?

But another circumstance in sacred History will shew us, that Egypt, which supplied Canaan, abounded in Horse still much earlier. In the law of Moses, we find this prohibition, personally directed to their future King: *he shall not multiply horses to himself, nor cause the people to return to EGYPT, TO THE END THAT HE SHOULD MULTIPLY HORSES: forasmuch as the Lord hath said unto you, Ye shall henceforth return no more that way^m.* Now the reason, here given, being to prevent all commerce with Egypt, we must conclude, if it appear that Egypt, at this time, supplied other nations with horses, that the law extended to their Judges as well as Kings. But they did supply other nations. For we find the confederate Canaanites (who, by Sir Isaac's confession, had their horses from Egypt) warring against Joshua, *they and all their hosts with them, much people, even as the sand that is upon the sea-shore in multitude, with Horses and chariots very manyⁿ.* The law therefore did certainly respect the Judges. And the reasoning is confirmed by fact. For Joshua, when he had defeated these confederate hosts, *bought their Horses and burnt their chariots with fire^o,* according to the commandment of the Lord: observing it in the same rigorous manner in which it was obeyed by their Kings, to whom the law was personally addressed: For thus Ahab destroyed the horses and chariots of Benhadad^p. So that I now conclude the other way from this Law, that a general traffic with Egypt for Horses was very common

^m DEUT. xvii. ver. 16.

ⁿ JOS. xi. ver. 4.

^o ver. 9.

^p 1 KINGS xx. ver. 21.

in the times of Moses and Joshua. Consequently Egypt was not first furnished with Horses from Libya in the time of Sir Isaac Newton's Sesostris.

But it may give strength to this argument, as well as light to the sacred Text, to inquire more particularly into the reasons of this PROHIBITION; which we shall find so weighty and various as to appear worthy of its Author, and accommodated only to a Law of divine original.

1. The first reason (which was expressly delivered with the Law) is, properly, RELIGIOUS. He [the King] says the Law, *shall not multiply Horses to himself, nor cause the people to return to Egypt, to the end that he should multiply Horses: forasmuch as the Lord had said unto you, Ye shall henceforth return no more that way.* i. e. He should not establish a body of Cavalry, because this could not be effected without sending into Egypt, with which people the Lord had forbidden any communication, as, of all foreign commerce, that was the most dangerous to true Religion^a.

When Solomon had violated this Law, and multiplied Horses to such excess that, we are told, he *had forty thousand stalls of Horses for his chariots, and twelve thousand Horsemen*^r, it was soon attended with those fatal consequences which the Law had foretold. For this wisest of Kings having likewise, in violation of another Law of Moses, married Pharaoh's daughter^s, (the early fruits of this commerce) and then, by a repetition of the same crime, but a transgression of another law, had

^a See the next sections

^s 2 KINGS iii. ver. 1.

^r 1 KINGS iv. ver. 26.

espoused more *strange women*^r; they first of all, in defiance of a fourth Law, persuaded him to build them idol Temples for their use; and afterwards, against a fifth Law, still more fundamental, brought him to erect other Temples for his own^u. Now the original of all this mischief was the forbidden traffic with Egypt for Horses: For thither, we are told, the agents of Solomon were sent to mount his Cavalry. *And Solomon gathered chariots and horsemen: and he had a thousand and four hundred chariots, and twelve thousand horsemen, which he placed in the chariot-cities, and with the king at Jerusalem—And he had Horses brought out of Egypt, and linen yarn: the king's merchants received the linen yarn at a price. And they fetcht up and brought forth out of Egypt a chariot for six hundred shekels of silver, and an Horse for an hundred and fifty*^x. Nay, this great King even turned factor for the neighbouring monarchs. *And so brought they out Horses for all the kings of the Hittites, and for the kings of Syria by their means*^y. This opprobrious commerce was kept up by his Successors; and attended with the same pernicious consequences. Isaiah, with his usual majesty, denounces the mischiefs of this traffic; and foretels that one of the good effects of leaving it, would be the forsaking their idolatries. *Wo to them that go down to Egypt for help, and stay on HORSES and trust in chariots, because they are many; and in HORSEMEN, because they are very strong: but they look not unto the holy one of Israel, neither seek the Lord. — For thus hath the Lord spoken unto me: Like as the lion, and the young lion, roaring on his prey, when a multitude of shepherds is called forth against him, he will not be afraid of their voice,*

^r 1 KINGS xi. ver. 1.^x 2 CHRON. i. ver. 16, 17.^u 1 KINGS xi. ver. 7, 8.^y 2 CHRON. i. ver. 17.

nor abase himself for the noise of them: so shall the Lord of hosts come down to fight for mount Zion, and for the hill thereof — Turn ye unto him from whom the children of Israel have deeply revolted. For in that day every man shall cast away his idols of silver, and his idols of gold, which your own hands have made unto you for a sin².

2. The second reason against *multiplying Horses* I take to have been properly POLITICAL. The Israelites, separated by God for his peculiar People, under his government as King, must needs have been designed for the proprietors of one certain country. Accordingly the land of Canaan, the possession of the *seven nations*, was marked out for their proper inheritance. Within these limits they were to be confined; it being foreign to the nature of their Institution to make conquests, or to extend their dominion. But the expulsion of the *seven nations* being, as we shall see presently, to be effected by the extraordinary assistance of their KING, JEHOVAH, their successes must, of course, be full and rapid. But nothing is so impatient of bounds as a Multitude fleshed with easy victories: the projects of such a people are always going on from conquest to conquest; as appears from the Mahometan Arabs, under the same circumstances, led out to conquest by a *false* Prophet, as the Israelites by a *true*. Now to defeat this so natural a disposition, in a nation not designed for Empire, a Law is given against MULTIPLYING HORSES; than which nothing can be conceived more effectual. The Country that confined them, was rocky and mountainous, and therefore unfit for the breed and sustentation of horse. Telemachus is commended

² Is. xxxi. ver. 1, 4, 6, 7.

for giving this reason for refusing the horses of Menelaus:

*Haud male Telemachus, proles patientis Ulixei;
Non est aptus equis Ithacæ locus, ut neque planis
Porrectus spatiis, nec multæ prodigus herbæ^a.*

Besides, when they had once gotten possession of these mountains, they had little need of horse to preserve their conquest; as all skilled in military matters very well understand^b. The Israelites therefore, had they been either wise or pious, would soon have found that their true strength, as well political as religious, lay in Infantry: As that of Egypt, for a contrary reason, was in their Cavalry. Hence that people, who well understood their advantages, so industriously propagated the breed of Horses, as the surest defence of their territories. There is a remarkable passage, in the history of these times, to support what I here advance. When Benhadad, the gentile king of Syria, whose forces consisted of chariots and horsemen, had warred, with ill success, against the king of Israel, the Ministers, in a council of war, deliver their advice to him in these terms: *Their Gods are Gods of the HILLS, therefore they were stronger than we: but let us fight against them in the PLAIN, and surely we shall be stronger than they.* — And he hearkened

^a HOR.

^b The late bishop Sherlock supposed, that “the divine original of the Law might be inferred from this prohibition of the use of Cavalry: for that nothing but a divine command could have prevailed with Moses to forbid the princes of his country the uses of Horses and Chariots for their defence.” [4th Differ. p. 329. Ed. 4.] But I chuse not to insist on this, as the use of Cavalry could not be necessary for their defence after they were in possession of the country.

unto

unto their voice and did so^c. From this passage I collect 1. That the army of Israel, consisting all of Infantry, had chosen the situation of the hills; and this with proper military skill. 2. That their constant success in such a disposition of their forces occasioned this advice of the Ministers of Benhadad. These men possessed with the general notion of local tutelary Deities, finding the arms of Israel always successful on the hills, took it for the more eminent manifestation of the power of their Gods. *Their Gods, say they, are Gods of the hills.* Their superstition dictated the first part of their advice; and their skill in war, the second,—*let us fight against them in the plain.* The operations of the war had been hitherto most absurd: they had attacked an army of Infantry with one of Cavalry, on hills and in defiles.

But this want of Horse, (which kind of military force neither the product of their country could well support; nor the defence of it, need) would effectually prevent any attempt of extending their dominions either into the lesser Asia, Mesopotamia, or Egypt. All which neighbouring countries being stretched out into large and extended plains, could not be safely invaded without a numerous Cavalry. In this view, therefore, the wisdom of the Law can never be sufficiently admired.

3. But the third reason of the prohibition, was evidently to afford a lasting MANIFESTATION OF THAT EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE by which the Israelites were conducted, in taking possession of the land of Canaan. I have shewn that, when

^c 1 KINGS xx. ver. 23, & seq.

once settled, they might very well defend the possession without the help of Cavalry: But to conquer it without Cavalry, and from a warlike people abounding in Horse, was more than a raw unpractised Infantry could ever have performed alone. No more need be said to convince military men of the extreme difference of the two cases. To others it may be proper to observe,

1. That in the invasion of a country, the invaded may chuse their ground; and as it is their interest to avoid coming to a decisive action, so, being amidst their own native stores and provisions, they have it in their power to decline it. On the contrary, the invader must attack his enemies wherever he finds them posted. For, by reason of the scantiness and uncertainty of supplies in an enemy's country, he has not, for the most part, time to draw them, by military stratagems, from their advantages. We find this verified in the history of Benhadad, mentioned above. He had invaded Israel; but this people disposing of their Infantry with soldier-like address, he was forced to fight them on the *hills*, where only they were to be met with. After many unsuccessful engagements, his Ministers proposed a new plan of operation; to attack the enemy in the *plains*. And truly the advice was good: but how to put it in execution was the question; for they being the assailants, the Israelites were masters of their ground. So that after all, there was no other way of bringing them into the plains but by beating them from the hills. And there they must have stuck, till famine and desertion had ended the quarrel. In this exigence, their blasphemy against the God of Israel enabled them to put their counsels, against him, in execution. They fancied,

cied, according to the superstition of that time, and so gave out, that *he was God of the hills, but not of the valleys*. His omnipotence being thus disputed, He placed his people in the plains; and sent his Prophet to predict the coming vengeance on his enemies. *And there came a man of God, and spake unto the king of Israel, and said, Thus saith the Lord, Because the Syrians have said, the Lord is God of the hills, but he is not God of the valleys; therefore will I deliver all this great multitude into thine hand, and ye shall know that I am the Lord^a.*

2. Secondly, we may observe, that the possessors of mountainous regions may so dispose their Fortresses, with which they cover their country, as to make an invader's Cavalry absolutely useless: and consequently to have no occasion for any of their own. But the invaders of such a place where Cavalry is in use, and consequently the defences disposed in a contrary manner, so as best to favour the operations of Horse, the invaders, I say, go to certain destruction without a body of Horse to support their Infantry. This then being the very situation of affairs when the Israelites invaded Canaan, and conquered it, (for till then they had not begun to transgress the Law against Cavalry) I conclude that they must have been MIRACULOUSLY assisted. The Arabians, in a like expedition, thought it so extraordinary a thing to conquer without Horse, that Mahomet made it a law, when this happened, for the spoils not to be divided according to the stated rule, but for all to go to the Prophet himself, as a *deodand* or a gift from God alone^c.

Yet

^a 1 KINGS xx. ver. 28.

^c *Et id, quod concessit in prædam Deus legato suo ex illis, Non impulistis super illud ullos equos, neque camelos [i. e. non acquisistis*

Yet Mahomet never pretended to make his conquests without Horse, but used them on every occasion of need.

To return, we see then how little reason Sir Isaac Newton had for saying that Sesostris's conquest of Libya was the occasion of Egypt's being furnished with horse, so as to supply the neighbouring countries. But the instance was particularly ill chosen: for Sesostris, whom he makes the author of this benefit to Egypt, did, by his filling the country with canals, defeat the chief use and service of Cavalry; with which, till this time, Egypt had abounded; but which, from henceforth we hear no more of^f.

3. Again, in consequence of the same system, our great author seems to think that animal food was not customary amongst the Egyptian till about this time. *The Egyptians* (says he) *originally lived on the fruits of the earth, and fared hardly, and abstained from animals, and THEREFORE abominated shepherds: Menes* [the third from Sesostris] *taught them to adorn their beds and tables with rich furniture and carpets, and brought in amongst them a sumptuous, delicious, and voluptuous way of life^g.*

tis illud ope equorum aut camelorum] Sed Deus prævalere facit legatos suos, super quem vult: nam Deus est super omnem rem potens. SUR. 59. Alcor. ver. 6.

^f Νοστήσας δὲ ὁ Σέσωστρις εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον, καὶ — τὰς δώρυχας τὰς νῦν ἐχούσας ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ, πᾶσας ἔτοι ἀναγκαζόμενοι ὠρύσσον ἐποίησάν τε καὶ ἐκόντες Αἴγυπτον, τοπρὶν εἶσαν ἱππασίμην, καὶ ἀμαξενόμην πᾶσαν, ἐνδεᾶ τῶν ἀπὸ γὰρ τότε τῆ χρόνου Αἴγυπτος εἶσα πεδία πᾶσα, ἀνιππῶ, καὶ ἀναμαξενίῳ γέγονε. Herod. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 108.

^g Page 241.

2

Now,

Now, whoever brought in the *eating of flesh*, and a *voluptuous life*, did it, (as we are assured from Scripture) before the time of Joseph. I have proved, in my account of their Physicians as delivered in the Bible, that they were then a luxurious people^h. From the dream of Pharaoh's baker, compared with Joseph's interpretationⁱ, it appears, they eat animal food; and, from the story of Joseph's entertainment of his brethren, it appears, that their enmity to shepherds was not occasioned by these Hebrews' eating animal food, which, Sir Isaac says, the Egyptians abstained from. *And he said to the ruler of his house, Bring these men home, and SLAY, and make ready: for these men shall dine with me at noon. And the man did as Joseph bade: and the man brought the men into Joseph's house—and they set on for him by himself, and for them by themselves, and for the Egyptians, which did eat with him, by themselves, because the Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews, for that is an abomination to the Egyptians.— And he took and sent messes unto them from before him^k.* Here, we see the common provision for their entertainment, was animal food. And no one can doubt whether Joseph conformed to the Egyptian diet. He sat single out of state, with regard to the Egyptians; the Egyptians sat

^h See p. 42, and following, of this volume.

ⁱ *And the chief baker said unto Joseph, I also was in my dream, and behold I had three white baskets on my head, and in the uppermost basket there was of all manner of BAKE-MEATS for Pharaoh, and the birds did eat them out of the basket. — And Joseph answered and said — The three baskets are three days. Yet within three days shall Pharaoh lift up thy head from off thee, and shall hang thee on a tree; and the birds shall eat thy flesh from off thee. GEN. xl. ver. 17, & seq.*

^k GEN. xliii. ver. 16, 17—32—34.

apart, with regard to the Shepherds; and Both were supplied from the Governor's table, which was furnished from the Steward's slaughter-house. The truth of this is farther seen from the murmuring of the Israelites in the wilderness, when they said, *Would to God we had died by the hand of the Lord in the land of Egypt, when we sat by the FLESH-POTS, and when we did eat bread to the full*¹. Now we can scarce suppose the Egyptians would permit their slaves, whom they kept in so hard oppression, to riot in *flesh-pots*, while, as Sir Isaac supposes, *they themselves fared hardly and abstained from Animals*.

4. Again, he supposes, that the exact division of the land of Egypt into Property was first made in the time of Sesostris. *Sesostris* (says he) *upon his returning home, divided Egypt by measure amongst the Egyptians; and this gave a beginning to surveying and geometry*^m. And in another place, he brings down the original of geometry still lower; even as late as Mæris, the fifth from Sesostris. *Mæris* (says he)—*for preserving the division of Egypt into equal shares amongst the soldiers—wrote a book of surveying, which gave a beginning to geometry*ⁿ. Let the reader now consider, whether it be possible to reconcile this with the following account of Joseph's administration. *And Joseph bought all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh; for the Egyptians sold EVERY MAN HIS FIELD, because the famine prevailed over them: so the land became Pharaoh's. And as for the people, he removed them to cities from one end of the borders of Egypt, even to the other end thereof. Only the land of the Priests bought he not: for the Priests had a portion assigned them of*

¹ EXOD. xvi. ver. 3.^m Page 218.ⁿ Page 248.
Pharaoh,

Pharaoh, and did eat their portion which Pharaoh gave them; therefore they sold not their lands. Then Joseph said unto the people, Behold I have bought you this day, and your land for Pharaoh: lo here is the seed for you, and ye shall sow the land. And it shall come to pass, in the increase, that you shall give the fifth part unto Pharaoh, and four parts shall be your own, for seed of the field, and for your food and for them of your own households, and for food for your little ones. And Joseph made it a law over the land of Egypt unto this day, that Pharaoh should have the fifth part; except the land of the Priests only, which became not Pharaoh's^o. Here we have the description of a country very exactly set out and settled in private property. It would afford room for variety of reflexions: I shall confine myself to the following. If private property had not been, at this time established with the utmost order and exactness, what occasion had Joseph to recur to that troublesome expedient of transplanting the People, reciprocally, from one end of Egypt to the other? his purpose in it is evident: it was to secure Pharaoh in his new property, by defeating the ill effects of that fondness which people naturally have to an old paternal inheritance. But what fondness have men for one spot, rather than another, of lands lying in common, or but newly appropriated? Were the Egyptians at this time, as Sir Isaac Newton seems to suppose, in the state of the unsettled Nomades, they would have gone from one end of Egypt to the other, without Joseph's sending; and without the least regret for any thing they had left behind.

But without weakening the great man's conjecture by Scripture-history, How does it appear

^o GEN. xlvii. 20, & seq.

from the simple fact of Sesostris's dividing the large champion country of Egypt into square fields, by cross-cut canals, that this *was a dividing Egypt by measure, and giving a beginning to surveying and geometry?* If we examine the cause and the effects of that improvement, we shall find that neither one nor the other part of his conclusion can be deduced from it. The *cause* of making these canals, was evidently to drain the swampy marshes of that vast extended level; and to render the whole labourable^p. But a work of this kind is never projected till a people begin to want room. And they never want room till private property hath been well established; and the necessities of life, by the advancement of civil arts, are become greatly increased. As to the *effects*; Ground, once divided by such boundaries, was in no danger of a change of landmarks; and consequently had small occasion for future surveys. So that had not the Egyptians found out geometry before this new division, 'tis probable they had never found it out at all. The most likely cause, therefore, to be assigned for this invention, was the necessity of frequent surveys, while the annual overflowings of the Nile were always obliterating such landmarks as were not, like those cross-cut canals, wrought deep into the soil. But these put a total end to that inconvenience. Indeed, Herodotus seems to give it as his opinion, that geometry had its rise from this improvement of Sesostris^q. But we are to re-

^p It is true Diodorus supposes, the principal reason was to cover and secure the flat country from hostile incursions: τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, πρὸς τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἐφόδους ὀχυρὰν καὶ δυσέμβολον ἐποίησε τὴν χώραν, p. 36. But sure he hath chosen a very unlikely time for such a provision. The return of Sesostris from the conquest of the habitable world would hardly have been attended with apprehensions of any evil of this kind.

^q Δοκέει δέ μοι ἐνθεῦτεν γεωμετρίῃ εὐρεθεῖσα, ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπανελθεῖν. *Herodot. l. ii. c. 109.*

member what hath been said of the incredible Antiquity which the ancient Greek writers, and particularly Aristotle^r, assigned to this Hero: the natural consequence of the Egyptian's having confounded the ages and actions, though never the persons, of Osiris and Sesostris.

5. The next inference this illustrious Writer makes from his system is, that *letters were unknown in Egypt till the time of David. When the Edomites* (says he) *fled from David with their young king Hadad into Egypt, it is probable that they carried thither also the use of letters: for letters were then in use amongst the posterity of Abraham — and there is no instance of letters, for writing down sounds, being in use before the days of David in any other nation besides the posterity of Abraham. The Egyptians ascribed this invention to Thoth the secretary of Osiris; and therefore letters began to be in use in Egypt in the days of Thoth, that is, a little after the flight of the Edomites from David, or about the time that Cadmus brought them into Europe^s.* It appears from the two stone-tables of the Law, and from the engravings on Aaron's breast plate, that letters were in common use amongst the Israelites at the time of their egression from Egypt. Now supposing alphabetic writing to be amongst the peculiar advantages of the chosen people, was it not more likely that the Egyptians should learn it of them during their long abode in that country, than from the fugitive *Edomites*, if they had indeed *carried thither* (which however is a mere conjecture) *the use of letters.* But when we consider that alphabetic writing was introduced amongst the chosen people some time between the age of Jacob and that of Moses,

^r See Page 248.

^s Page 209.

it seems most probable that they learnt it of the Egyptians. But, for a full confutation of this fancy, and of the arguments that support it, I am content to refer the reader to what I have occasionally observed, though to other purposes, in my discourse of the Egyptian hieroglyphics^t.

6. Lastly, he observes, that *Egypt was so thinly peopled before the birth of Moses, that Pharaoh said of the Israelites, "Behold the people of the children of Israel are more and mightier than we:"* and that to prevent their multiplying, and growing too strong, he caused their male children to be drowned^u. Yet this country, so thinly peopled at the birth of Moses, was, we find from Scripture, so vastly populous, by the time Moses was sent upon his mission, that it could keep in slavery six hundred thousand men besides children^x; at a time, when they were most powerfully instigated to recover their liberty; which, yet after all, they were unable to effect but by the frequent desolation of the hand of God upon their insolent and cruel masters. And is this to be reconciled with Sir Isaac's notion of their preceding thinness? But he likewise supports himself on Scripture. Egypt was so thinly peopled—that Pharaoh said—*Behold the people of the children of Israel are more and mightier than we.* Strange interpretation! The Scripture relation of the matter is in these words: *And Pharaoh said unto his people, Behold the people of the children of Israel are more and mightier than we. Come on, let us deal wisely with them: lest they multiply, and it come to pass, that when there falleth out any war, they join also unto our enemies, and fight against us, and so get them up*

^t See page 69, & seq.
 2ii. 37.

^u Page 186.

^x Exod.

out of the land. Therefore they did set over them Task-masters, to afflict them with their burdens. — But the more they afflicted them, the more they grew and multiplied^y. By the whole turn of this relation it appears, that the more and mightier signify only more prolific and healthy. And that was in truth the case. The Egyptians of this time, as we have shewn^z, were very luxurious: While the manners of the Israelites concurred with their condition to render them hardy and fruitful, by an abstemious and laborious course of life. On this account the king expresses his fear. But of what? certainly not that they should subdue their masters; but that they should *escape out of bondage*: which, even to the very moment of their egression, was the sole object of the Egyptian's fear.—*Lest* (says he) *they multiply; and it come to pass, that, when there falleth out any war, they join also unto our enemies, and fight against us, and SO GET THEM UP OUT OF THE LAND.* This was a reasonable apprehension: for Egypt was in every age subject to the incursions of that fierce and barbarous people the Arabians, on that very side which the Israelites inhabited: who, possessing their own District, unmixed with Egyptians, had the keys of the country in their hands, to admit or exclude an invader at their pleasure. A circumstance which would make the smallest province formidable to the most powerful kingdom. To prevent then, so probable a danger, their task-masters are ordered to increase their oppressions; and they groan under them without power to resist, till set free by the all powerful hand of God.

Thus we see how Sir Isaac Newton's system stands with regard to SACRED ANTIQUITY. What

^y Exod. i. 9, & seq.

^z See p. 42, and 47.

is still worse, it is not only repugnant to the Bible, but even to ITSELF.

III. We have observed, that, by the casual confounding of the proper actions of Osiris and Sesostris with one another, each came to be, at the same time, the INVENTOR, and the PERFECTER, of the arts of life. This, which might have led our Author, the most penetrating of all writers, to the discovery of the ancient error in their history, served only to confirm him in his own; as placing the invention of civil arts low enough for the support of his general Chronology. However it is very certain, that the making their *invention* and *perfection* the product of the same age, is directly contrary to the very NATURE OF THINGS. Which, if any one doubt, let him examine the general history of mankind; where he will see that the advances, from an emerging barbarity, through civil policy, to refined arts and polished manners, when not given them, ready fitted to their hands, by neighbouring nations forward to impart them, have been ever the slow and gradual progress of many and successive ages. Yet these, our illustrious Author (in consequence of the supposed identity of his two Heroes) makes to spring up, to flourish, and to come to their perfection, all within the compass of one single reign. Or rather, which is still more intolerable, he makes this extraordinary age of Sesostris to be distinguished from all others by an inseparable mixture of savage and polished manners. Which is so unnatural, so incredible, so impossible a circumstance, that were there only this, to oppose against his system, it would be a sufficient demonstration of its falshood.

To shew then, that Sir Isaac Newton by fairly and honestly taking in these consequences of his system,

system, hath indeed subjected it to this disgrace, I shall give two instances. The one taken from his account of the *state of War*, the other of the *state of Architecture*, during this period.

I. Our Author having made the egyptian Hercules, to be Sesostris, is forced to own that the war in Libya was carried on with clubs. *After these things, he [Hercules or Sesostris] invaded Libya, and fought the Africans with clubs, and thence is painted with a club in his hand.* Here, the great Writer hath given us the very picture of the Iroquosian or Huron Savages warring with a neighbouring tribe. And without doubt intended it for such a representation; as appears, first, from his immediately adding these words of Hyginus: *Afri & Ægyptii PRIMUM fustibus dimicaverunt, postea Belus Neptuni filius gladio belligeratus est, unde bellum dictum est*^a. For we are to observe that the title of the chapter, in which these words are found, is, *quis quid invenerit*^b: and secondly, from his supposing Vulcan, (whom he makes to live at this time) the inventor of military weapons. Yet this, according to the great Author, was after Sesostris's conquest of the Troglodytes and Ethiopians: it was after his Father's building a fleet on the Red sea, with which he coasted Arabia Felix; went into the Persian Gulph, and penetrated even into India^c: and but a little before Sesostris's great expedition for the conquest of the habitable world. At which time we see him set out with the most splended retinue of a Court, and the most dreadful apparatus of War; we find him defeat great armies; subdue mighty kingdoms; (amongst the rest Judæa, where all kind of military arms of-

^a Page 215.^b FAB. cclxxiv.^c Page 214, 215.

ensive and defensive had been in use for many ages) people large cities; and leave behind him many stately monuments of his power and magnificence.

2. Thus again, Sir Isaac tells us, that Tosorthrus or Æsculapius, an Egyptian of the time of Sesostris, discovered the art of building with square stones^d. Yet his contemporary, Sesostris, he tells us, *divided Egypt into 36 nomes or counties, and dug a canal from the Nile, to the head city of every nome; and with the earth dug out of it, he caused the ground of the city to be raised higher, and built a temple in every city for the worship of the nome; &c^e*. And soon after, Amenophis, the third from him, *built Memphis; and ordered the worship of the Gods of Egypt; and built a palace at Abydos, and the Memnonia at This and Susa, and the magnificent temple of Vulcan in Memphis^f*.

Now,

^d — *The building with square stones (says he) being found out by Tosorthrus, the Æsculapius of Egypt. Page 247.*

^e Page 218.

^f The reader may not be displeased to see Homer's ideas of this matter: who supposes the science of architecture to be arrived at great perfection in the time of the Trojan war. For speaking of the habitation of Paris (whom, as his great translator rightly observes, Homer makes to be *a bel-esprit and a fine genius*) he describes it in this manner:

Ἐκτωρ δὲ πρὸς δώματ' Ἀλεξάνδροιο βεβήκει
ΚΑΛΑ, τὰ ῥ' αὐτὸς ἔτευξε σὺν ἀνδράσιν, οἳ τότε ἈΡΙΣΤΟΙ
ἦσαν ἐνὶ Τροίῃ ἐριβώλακι ΤΕΚΤΟΝΕΣ ἄνδρες,
Οἳ οἱ ἐποίησαν ΘΑΛΑΜΟΝ, καὶ ΔΩΜΑ, καὶ ἈΓΛΗΝ. II. 2. 310.

Here, we see a magnificent palace, built by profest architects, with all its suits of apartments; as different from the description of Hector's dwelling, as the character of the masters from one another; of which last he only says, it was a commodious habitation.

Now, in this odd mixture of barbarity and politeness, strength and impotence, riches and poverty, there is such an inconsistency in the character of ages, as shews it to be the mere invention of professed fabulists, whose known talent it is to

“ Make former times shake hands with latter;
 “ And that which was before come after ;

though composed of tales so ill concerted, and contradictory, as shews, they wrote upon no consistent plan, but each as his own temporary views and occasions required.

When I entered on a confutation of Sir Isaac Newton's *Egyptian Chronology*, (for with that only I have here to do) I was willing for the greater satisfaction of the reader to set his arguments for the *identity of Osiris and Sesostris*, on which that Chronology was founded, in the strongest and clearest light. On this account I took them as I found them collected, ranged in order, and set together in one view, with the greatest advantage of representation, by the very worthy and learned Master of the Charter-house, in a professed apology for our great Philosopher. But this liberty the learned writer hath been pleased to criticise in the latin edition § of the tracts to which that apology was prefixed—“ I am not ignorant (says he^h) that
 “ the

Αἰψὰ δ' ἐπειθ' ἵκανε δόμος ΕΥ ΝΑΙΕΤΑΟΝΤΑΣ
 “ Εκτορῶ. —

Ibid. 497.

§ *De veris annis D. N. Jesu Christi natali & emortuali Dissertationes duæ Chronologicæ.*

“^h Non nescimus nuperrime accidisse, ut Vir ingenio &
 “ eruditione præstans, quum ratus sit ad *divinam legationem*
 “ *Mosis*

“ the author of *the Divine Legation* supposing it,
 “ some how or other, to concern Moses’s divine mis-
 “ sion, to prove that Osiris, was not the same with
 “ Sesostris, hath lately turned all that is here said,
 “ into ridicule, by a comparison made between
 “ the fabulous ARTHUR and WILLIAM the Nor-
 “ man; who, he says, may be made one by as
 “ good reasons (though they have scarce any thing
 “ alike or in common with one another) as those
 “ which we have brought to confound Osiris with
 “ Sesostris: and on this point he draws out a dis-
 “ putation through seventy pages and upwards; in
 “ which, however, he neither denies nor confutes,
 “ but only laughs at what we have here said of
 “ Sesostris. It is true indeed that some other of
 “ Newton’s assertions he does oppose; such as
 “ those concerning the late invention of arts,
 “ arms, and instruments by some certain king;
 “ and in this part of the argument he gets the
 “ better. For that these things were found out
 “ by the Egyptians long before the age of Sefos-

“ *Mosis demonstrandum* aliquo modo pertinere, ut probetur
 “ Osiris non esse idem cum Sesostris, omnia huc allata in lusum
 “ jocumque verterit, instituta comparatione Arthuri illius fa-
 “ bulosi cum Wilhelmo Normanno, quos æquè bonis rationi-
 “ bus in unum hominem consilari posse ait (quamvis nihil fere
 “ habeant inter se commune aut simile) ac nos Osirin cum
 “ Sesostris confundimus. Et de hac re disputationem in 70 pa-
 “ ginas & ultra producit. In qua tamen hæc nostra de Sesostris
 “ neque negat neque refellit, sed irridet. Alia vero quædam
 “ Newtoni dicta de sero inventis ab aliquo rege artibus, armis,
 “ instrumentis oppugnat, & ea quidem parte causæ vincit.
 “ Nam ut ista longe ante Sesostris ætatem apud Ægyptios re-
 “ perta sint, Scriptura sacra jubet credere; ab ullo unquam
 “ regum inventa esse haud ita certum. Sed ea prius non
 “ attigimus, ut quæ nihil ad propositum nostrum attinent,
 “ neque nunc nos movent, ut pedem retrahamus ab ista Cl.
 “ Newtoni conclusione Sefacum, Sesostrim, Osirin & Bacchum
 “ fuisse. Lite jam contestata judicent eruditi.” *In Dedic. p.*
 xii. xiii.

“ tris

“ tris holy Writ commands us to believe: but
 “ whether found out by any of their kings is not
 “ so certain. However, these were matters we ne-
 “ ver touched upon, as relating nothing to our
 “ purpose; nor do they yet induce us to recede
 “ from that conclusion of the famous Newton, that
 “ Sefac was Sesostris, Osiris, and Bacchus. But
 “ the cause being now brought before the public,
 “ let the learned determine of it.” Thus far this
 candid and ingenuous writer.

He says, *the author of the Divine Legation sup-
 poses that it some how or other concerns Moses's di-
 vine mission to prove Osiris not the same with Seso-
 stris*; which seems to imply that this learned person
 doth not see how it concerns it. And yet after-
 wards he owns, *that Scripture* (meaning the writ-
 ings of Moses) *will not allow us to believe with Sir*
Isaac, that the invention of arts, arms, and instru-
ments was so late as the time of Sesostris. Now it
 follows (as I have shewn) by certain consequence,
 that, if Osiris and Sesostris were one and the same,
 then the invention of arts was as late as the time of
 Sesostris. But this contradicting Scripture or the
 writings of Moses, as the learned person himself
 confesseth, the reader sees plainly, *how it concerns*
Moses's mission to prove Osiris not the same with
Sesostris.

The learned writer, speaking of the comparison
 I had made between Arthur and William the Nor-
 man, says, *they have scarce any thing alike or in*
common with one another. I had brought together
 thirteen circumstances (the very number which the
 learned writer thinks sufficient to establish the iden-
 tity of Osiris and Sesostris) in which they perfect-
 ly agree. I am persuaded he does not suspect me
 of

of falsifying their history. He must mean therefore, that *thirteen* in my comparison, prove nothing, which, in his, prove every thing.

He goes on,—in a *disputation of seventy pages and upwards the author of the Divine Legation neither denies nor confutes, but only laughs at what we have said of Sesostris*. What is it the learned writer *hath said of Sesostris*? Is it not this? That between his history and that of Osiris there are many strokes of resemblance: From whence he infers (with Sir Isaac) that these two Heroes were one and the same. Now if he means, I have neither *denied* nor *confuted* this resemblance, he says true. I had no such design. It is too well marked by Antiquity to be denied. Neither, let me add, did I *laugh* at it. What I *laughed at* (if my bringing a similar case is to be so called) was his inference from this resemblance, that therefore Osiris and Sesostris were one and the same. But then too I did more than *laugh*: I both *denied* and *confuted* it. First I *denied* it, by shewing that this resemblance might really be, though Osiris and Sesostris were two different men, as appeared by an equal resemblance in the actions of two different men, the British Arthur and William the Norman. But as the general history of ancient Egypt would not suffer us to believe all that the Greek writers have said of this resemblance, I then explained the causes which occasioned their mistaken accounts of the two persons, from whence so perfect a resemblance had arisen. Secondly, I *confuted* what the learned person had said of Sesostris, by shewing, from the concurrent testimony of Antiquity, and from several internal arguments deducible from that testimony, that Osiris and Sesostris

sostris were in fact two different persons, living in two very distant ages.

The learned writer proceeds, — *It is true indeed that some other of Newton's assertions he does oppose; such as those concerning the late invention of arts, arms, and instruments; and in this part of the argument he gets the better.* But if I have the better here, it is past dispute I overthrow the whole hypothesis of the *identity of Osiris and Sesostris*. For, as to the resemblance, which Antiquity hath given them, that, considered singly when the pretended late invention of arts hath been proved a mistake, will indeed deserve only to be *laughed at*. But were it, as Sir Isaac Newton endeavoured to prove, that the invention of arts was no earlier than the time of Sesostris or Sefac, there is then indeed an end of the ancient Osiris of Egypt; and the Hero so much boasted of by that people, can be no other than the Sesostris of this author. For the very foundation of the existence of the ancient Osiris was his civilizing Egypt, and teaching them the Arts of life: But if this were done by Sesostris, or in his reign, then is HE the true Osiris of Egypt. As, on the contrary, were the invention of arts as early as SCRIPTURE-HISTORY represents it, then is Egypt to be believed, when she tells us that Osiris, their Inventor of arts, was many ages earlier than Sesostris their Conqueror: And consequently, all Sir Isaac Newton's *identity* separates and falls to pieces. In a word, take it which way you will, If Osiris were the same as Sesostris, then must the invention of arts (for all Antiquity have concurred in giving that invention to Osiris) be as late as the age of Sesostris, the Sefac of Newton: but this, SCRIPTURE-HISTORY will not suffer us to believe. If, on the other hand, Osiris and Sesostris

sostris were not the same, then was the invention of Arts (and for the same reason) much earlier than the age of Sesostris; as indeed all mankind thought before the construction of this new Chronology. These were the considerations which induced that Great man, who so well understood the nature and force of evidence, to employ all the sagacity of his wonderful talents in proving the invention of Arts to be about the age of his Sesostris or Sefac. And is it possible he should have a follower who cannot see that he hath done this? or the necessity he had of doing it? It will be said, perhaps, "that Sir Isaac has, indeed, argued much for the low invention of Arts: but had neither enforced it under the name of an argument, nor stated it in the form here represented." The objection would ill become a follower of Newton, who knows that his Master's method, as well in these his critical as in his physical inquiries, was to form the principal members of his demonstration with an unornamented brevity, and leave the sup-
plial of the small connecting parts to his reader's sagacity. Besides, in so obvious, so capital, so necessary an argument for this *identity*, it had been a ridiculous distrust of common sense, after he had spent so much pains in endeavouring to prove the *low invention of Arts*, to have ended his reasoning in this formal way: "And now, Reader, take notice that this is a conclusive, and perhaps the only conclusive argument for the *identity* of Osiris and Sesostris." Lastly, let me observe, that the very reason which induced Sir Isaac to be so large in the establishment of his point, *the low invention of Arts*, induced me to be as large in the subversion of it. And now some satisfactory account, I hope, is given of the *seventy long pages*.

What

What follows is still more unaccountable—*However these were matters* (says the learned writer, speaking of the invention of Arts) *we never touched upon, as relating nothing to our purpose.* Here I cannot but lament the learned writer's ill fortune. There was but this very circumstance in the book he would defend, which is *essential to his purpose*, and this, he hath given up as *nothing to his purpose*; and more unlucky still, on a review of the argument, he hath treated it as an error in his author, who took so much pains about it; but yet as an error that doth not at all affect the point in question. For,

He concludes thus—*Nor do they yet induce me to recede from that conclusion of the famous Newton, that Sefac was Sesostris, Osiris and Bacchus.*—Sefac, as I said before, I have no concern with. And as to Bacchus, it is agreed that this was only one of the names of Osiris. The thing I undertook to prove was, that Osiris and Sesostris were not the same person: but in doing this, I did not mean to say that Osiris was not one of the names of Sesostris. This is a very different thing: and the rather to be taken notice of because I suspect a quibble in the words of the learned writer, which would confound the difference. Nor is my suspicion unreasonable. For I have met with some of his most learned followers, who have ventured to say, that Sir Isaac meant no more than that Sesostris was AN Osiris. But if he meant no more, I would allow him to mean any thing; and never to have his meaning disputed. I, for my part, and so I suppose every body else, understood him to mean, “That the old Osiris, famous, amongst the Egyptians, for Legislation and the invention of the Arts of life, was the very same man with Sesostris, whom these

Egyptians make to be a different man, of a later age, and famous for the Conquest of the habitable world." This was the proposition I undertook to confute. Wherein I endeavoured to shew, "that there was a real Osiris, such as the Egyptians represented him, much earlier than their real Sesostris." And now (to use this writer's words) *the cause being brought before the public, let the learned determine of it.* As to the other point, that Sesostris went by the name of the earlier Hero, this I not only allow, but contend for, as it lays open to us one of the principal causes of that confusion in their stories, which hath produced a similitude of actions, whereon Sir Isaac Newton layeth the foundation of their IDENTITY.

But if Sir Isaac Newton and his learned Advocate have paid too little deference to Antiquity, there are, who, in a contrary extreme, would pay a great deal too much. The learned Dr. Pococke in his book of travels, introduceth his discourse *On the mythology of the ancient Egyptians* in this extraordinary manner: "As the mythology, or
"fabulous religion of the ancient Egyptians, may
"be looked on, in a great measure, as the foundation of the heathen Religion in most other parts,
"so it may not be improper to give some account
"of the origin of it, as it is delivered by the
"most ancient authors, which may give some
"light both to the description of Egypt, and also
"to the history of that country. We may suppose, that the Ancients were the best judges of
"the nature of their Religion; and consequently,
"that all interpretations of their Mythology, by
"MEN OF FRUITFUL INVENTIONS, that have no
"sort of foundation in their writings, are forced,
"and such as might never be intended by them.
"On

“ On the contrary, it is necessary to retrench several things the Ancients themselves seem to have invented, and grafted on true history; and, in order to account for many things, the Genealogies and Alliances they mention, must in several respects be false or erroneous, and seem to have been invented to accommodate the honours of the same Deities to different persons, they were obliged to deify, who lived at different times; and so they were obliged to give them new names, invent genealogies, and some different attributesⁱ. ”

He says, *We may suppose that the ancients were the best judges of the nature of their religion, and of their mythology.* But the *Ancients*, here spoken of, were not Egyptians, but Greeks; and the *Mythology* here spoken of, was not Greek, but Egyptian: Therefore these *Ancients* might well be mistaken about the *nature of a Religion* which they borrowed from strangers; the principles of which, they tell us, were always kept secreted from them. But this is not all; they in fact were mistaken; and by no means *good judges of the nature of their Religion*, if we may believe one of the most authentic of these *Ancients*, HERODOTUS himself, where discoursing of the Greeks he expressly says,—“ But the origin of each God, and whether they are all from eternity, and what is their several kinds or natures, to speak the truth, they neither knew at that time nor since^k. ”

The learned Traveller goes on—and CONSEQUENTLY *that all interpretations of their Mythology by men of FRUITFUL INVENTIONS, that have no scruple*

ⁱ P. 221, 222.

^k See above.

of foundation in their writings, are forced, and such as might never be intended by them. This is indeed a TRUTH, but it is no CONSEQUENCE, and therefore not to the purpose. For, whether the *Ancients* were, or were not, *the best judges*; whether the *Moderns* have, or have not, *fruitful inventions*, yet if their *interpretations* have no sort of foundation in *ancient writings*, it is a great chance but they are forced; and as great, that the *Ancients* never intended what the *Moderns* ascribe to them. However he gets nothing by this hypothetical proposition, unless it be the discredit of begging the question.

But the most extraordinary, is his making it an additional reason for leaving the *Moderns* and sticking to the *Ancients*, that *the Ancients seem to have invented and grafted on true history; and, in order* (he says) *to account for many things, the genealogies and alliances they mention, must in several respects be false or erroneous, and seem to have been invented, etc.* Now, if the *Ancients* were thus mistaken, the *Moderns* sure may be excused in endeavouring to set them right: To common sense therefore, this would seem to shew the use of their interpretations. But this use is better understood from our Author's own success; who, in this chapter concerning the *Egyptian mythology*, has attempted to give us some knowledge of Antiquity, without them. And here we find, the ancient account, to which he so closely adheres, is not only fabulous by his own confession, but contradictory by his own representation; a confused collection of errors and absurdities: that very condition of Antiquity which forced the *Moderns* to have recourse to *interpretations*; and occasioned that variety whereon our
author

author grounds his charge against them. A charge however, in which his *Ancients* themselves will be involved; for they likewise had their *interpretations*; and were (if their variety would give it them) as *fruitful* at least, in their *inventions*. For instance, How discordant were they in their opinions concerning the origin of ANIMAL WORSHIP? Was our Author ignorant that so odd a superstition wanted explanation? By no means. Yet for fear of incurring the censure of a *fruitful invention*, instead of taking the fair solution of a modern Critic, or even any rational interpretation of the ancient Mythologists, whom yet he professes to follow, he contents himself with that wretched fable “ of Typhon’s dividing the body of Osiris into twenty six parts, and distributing them to his accomplices; which, being afterwards found by Isis, and delivered by her to distinct bodies of priests to be buried with great secrecy, she enjoined them to pay divine honours to him, and to consecrate some particular animal to his memory.” *From this account* (says our author very gravely) *we may see the reason why so many sacred animals were worshiped in Egypt*¹. Again, the Greek account, in Diodorus, of Osiris’s expedition, has been shewn to be a heap of impossible absurdities; yet our author believes it all; and would have believed as much more rather than have run the hazard of any *modern invention*.

AND now, we perfume, the MINOR of Sir Isaac Newton’s general argument, that *Osiris and Sesostris were the same*, is intirely overthrown. For 1. It hath been proved, that the premisses, he employs in its support, do not infer it. 2. That the con-

¹ Page 226.

sequence of his conclusion from it, contradicts sacred Scripture; and 3. That it disagrees with the very nature of things.

So that our first proposition, *That the Egyptian learning celebrated in Scripture, and the Egyptian superstition there condemned, were the very Learning and Superstition represented by the Greek writers, as the honour and opprobrium of that people, stands clear of all objection.* What that *Learning* and *Superstition* were, we have shewn very largely, tho' occasionally, in the course of this inquiry; whereby it appears, that their *Learning* in general was consummate skill in CIVIL POLICY AND THE ARTS OF LEGISLATION; and their *Superstition*, the WORSHIP OF DEAD MEN DEIFIED.

The End of the THIRD VOLUME.

E R R A T A.

- P. 44. l. 10. for *his*, read *their*.
 P. 82. in the note at the bottom, for *ancedote*, r. *anecdote*.
 P. 87. in the note, l. 19. for *on*, r. *en*.
 P. 132. l. 1. for *and*, r. *an*.
 P. 152. in the note, l. 11. for *on*, r. *ou*.
 P. 153. l. 26. for *could but*, r. *could not but*.
 P. 156. l. 1. for IEPATIKHM, r. IEPATIKHN.
 P. 159. l. ult. for διαγέκτα, r. διαλέκτα.
 P. 196. note, l. 14. for *too*, r. *two*.
 P. 206. l. 12. a full point at *narrat*.
 P. 216. l. 7. for *in heaven*, r. *into heaven*.
 P. 244. l. 5. for *miarcle*, r. *miracle*.
 P. 245. l. 26. for *not all*, r. *not at all*.
 P. 248. l. 3. for *in Judæa*, r. *of Judæa*.

Warburton, William, 1698-1779

The Divine Legation Of Moses Demonstrated

Bd.: 3

London (1765)

Dogm. 1085 g-3

urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10399870-8